

Le Clerc, Jean

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MEMOIRS

SEP 18 1916

QUARTER

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EMERIC Count Teckely.

Date SEP 14 1916

In Four BOOKS.

Wherein are related all the most
considerable Transactions in *Hun-*
gary and the *Ottoman* Empire,
from his Birth, *Anno* 1656, till
after the Battel of *Salankement*, in
the Year 1691.

Translated out of French.



L O N D O N,

Printed for *Tim. Goodwin* at the Maiden-
head against *St. Dunstan's* Church in
Fleet-street, 1693.

THE
MORRIS

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To the Right Honourable
RICHARD Earl of Bel-
lomont, Treasurer to
Her Majesty.

My Lord,

IT seems not unseasonable or
improper to publish these
Memoires under your Lord-
ship's Protection, (though Truth
needs no Hero to defend her:)
the Beauty of Vertue, and ge-
nerous Spirit of Liberty influ-
enced Your glorious Ancestors,
and runs still in the Veins and
Blood of your Self, and Noble
Family..

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Family. 'Tis this sublime Character that shines so bright in most of the *Greek* and *Latin Writers*; this Purity and Majesty of Thought, Style and Action, elevated the Ancients far above our Level, and rendred them such noble Monuments to Posterity, that at this Day they carry the highest Value, and the greatest Reputation. Whereas, in the late Ages, we have so far degenerated from the Candor and Sincerity of those Learned Authors, that either Sects in Religion, Factions in the State, or other private Interests or Rewards, have made Men deviate so far from the old Rules of History, that the greatest part of the *Modern* is
more

Dedicatory. vii

more like Romance, design'd to please some sorts of Readers, more than to profit or teach Mankind. *Polybius*, *Lucian* and others, foresaw the many Corruptions that were like to overspread the Writers of History; therefore they thought fit to leave behind them some Rules and Methods for preserving its Native Purity.

My Lord,

These *Memoires* of Count *Teckely*, seem free from the aforementioned Deseases of History. Methinks there appears in them something of the ancient Air of *Thucydides* and *Livy*: The Author casts no Mists

viii *The Epistle, &c.*

to mislead his Readers, puts on no Mask to deceive the common Eye; all here is naked Matter of Fact, without any superficial Gloss or Artifice, to corrupt the plain simple Truth; and therefore the most fit to be dedicated to your Lordship, by,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most humble Servant.

THE

THE
PREFACE
TO THE
READER.

WHEN I first began to read this Book, I took up a strong Conceit that it was written by the Order of the French Court, of purpose to make the Protestant Princes of Germany jealous of the Emperor, and of the Court at Vienna, by shewing them how their Brethren had been treated in Hungary, both as to their Religion and their Civil Liberties, which I believe were the true foundation of this long and dangerous War, which brought the Imperial House within an Hair's breadth of Ruin : for had the Prime-Visier, in 1683, taken Vienna, and the French King been called in (as in appearance he must) to save the rest of the Ger-

Germans from the Ottoman Yoke, the consequence would have been the utter ruine of this Branch of the Austrian Family, of the Liberties of Germany, and consequently, of the Liberty of all Europe, and of the Protestant Religion. But by considering the Sincerity and Plainness of these Memoires, one may conclude there can be no other Design in the Author, than to transmit to Posterity pure Matter of Fact.

If any thing in this World were capable of making a zealous Roman Catholick Prince reflect on the Dangers the Jesuits expose them to, for their own Interest, this were enough to make all the crowned Heads, that shall live hereafter, suspect and avoid the precipitate, foolish, unjust Counsels of this sort of Men. It is true, what so much threatned the ruine of the Emperor, by a wonderful Turn of the Divine Providence, in the event, became an Occasion of wresting Hungary intirely out of the Hands of the Turks; and the Imperial Forces pursuing their Advantages, in the end, brought the Ottoman House into the same Danger the Austrian had so happily escaped: but then this is owing intirely to the Goodness of God; and the Counsels that brought the Emperor into that Danger, are as much to be detested, as if they had succeeded.

It is much to be observed, that the same Methods that were used in Hungary, to ruine the Protestant Religion, and the Civil Liber-

ties

ties of that Nation, were also imployed after that in France, for the same End; and began in England, Scotland and Ireland, in the last Reign; and carried as far as they had Time and Means to carry them, and by the same Men. So that it seems to be a formed Design, intended to be acted in one Place after another, throughout Europe. It is hard, otherwise, to conceive how the same Maxims, and the same Politicks, should be put in execution in such distant Places.

The first natural Inference that will arise from hence, is, That we can never enough admire the Goodness of God in Delivering us so timely and so wonderfully out of a Danger which would have certainly prepared England for Ruine, if it had been effected.

But the best Use of this is to be made by the Non-swearers: Let them consider seriously what Treatment the Hungarians have all met with; as well those that stuck to the Emperor, as those that joined with the Malecontents: Let them consider how little the Loyalty of the Protestants of France, was considered by the Present French King, who had been deposed in his Minority but for them: How little the Loyalty of those that had twice saved the late King, was regarded either in England or Ireland, when they found these Men would not abandon the Protestant Religion, and the Civil Liberties of England to them.

xii The P R E F A C E, &c.

I am morally certain, there is no Man in England, of any Prudence, doth expect any better Treatment from the late King, if he should return, than they met with before; but rather much worse: and therefore, I am amazed to see so many reputed wise Men stand out against the Present Government, and seem to desire nothing more than to put themselves and the Nation into such a Condition as must inevitably end in the Destruction of the late King, and the whole Royal Family, or the Ruine of the Protestant Religion, and the Civil Liberties of England. They every Day pester us with Libels against Their Majesties Persons and Government, and incurable Scruples of their own; but when they come to shew how the Nation should be secured, in case they had what they desire, never did Men, in their right Wits, talk more childishly and impertinently.

Leaving them as incurable, I wish the rest of the Nation would read this little Book, and compare exactly in their Minds, what was done in Hungary, according to the Report of this Author, with what was done, or apparently intended to be done in England; and then I believe the Consequence of it will be a fixed Resolution to spend the last Drop of their Bloods, and the last Penny of their Money, in the Defence of the Present Government.

Memoirs on the Life
Of *EMERIC* Count of
TEKELI.

The First Book.

Containing the History of what has passed in Hungary from the Year 1656, to the Year 1671.

IF those that have any share in the Management of the States whereof *Europe* is composed, were mindful to leave to Posterity, Memoirs of what comes within their Knowledge, it would not at all be necessary to make such haste in publishing the Actions of Living Persons. Those who should come after us might inform themselves by these Memoirs, after the Death of the Authors, and of those whose History
B would

would be comprehended therein. But Ministers of State minding nothing less, than to write what has pass'd under their Administration. Private Men ought not to be blamed, who carefully observing what falls out in *Europe*, and forgetting nothing as much as in them lies to distinguish the Truth from Falshood, publish what pass'd in the view of all the World, without expecting the Death of those whose History they compose. Besides that they preserve the Memory of a great many Matters of Fact, which would otherwise be forgot, they thereby put themselves in a state of reaping Advantage from the Advice of those who have been concern'd in the things they speak of, and to deliver nothing for certain but what is unquestionable. A very great number of Events and Circumstances that are useful to be known, are like Summer Fruits, which we must quickly gather, or resolve to eat them corrupted; if we don't publish some things in the Times wherein they happen, Posterity learns them only by a confused Tradition, which mixes Falshood with Truth, and often suppresses the most Essential parts.

This has made me take up a resolution of giving the Publick what I could remark on the Life of *Emeric Count of Tekeli,*

Tekeli, on whose person the Eyes of all Europe have been fixt for several Years; without expecting his death to publish what I could know of him. I am far from flattering my self with the thoughts of my having collected what may make a compleat History, but at least I can say that having no particular Interest, either to praise or dispraise him, I omit nothing with a design to conceal the Truth, as I add nothing herein to the advantage or disadvantage of any person. Besides, we must not believe that all the Life of Men that make a great figure in the World, should be always full of remarkable Intrigues. The greatest Men, as well as others, employ the half of their Life to satisfy the Necessities of Nature, and it is very much, that the other half is spent in a manner worthy of being known to Posterity.

A long time before the Birth of Count Tekely, whose Life we undertake to write, the Emperors of the House of Austria, being only Kings of Hungary by Election, began to be distrustful of the Loyalty

A lively representation of the Miseries of a Divided Countrey,

The Hungarians distrust for their Civil Priviledges.

of the Hungarians and complained that that People did not shew all that submission to their Orders, which they owed

them. On the other side, the Nobility of *Hungary* saw with sorrow an Elective Kingdom, to which their Merit might have formerly exalted them, become, in a sort, Hereditary to the House of *Austria*, whose Party was always the strongest in the Elections. They fear'd that in time it would become so powerful, that the *Hungarians*, stript of all their Priviledges, would have no more Liberty left them, than the Subjects of Hereditary Princes have at this day in the rest of *Europe*. A considerable part of the *Hungarians*, that followed *Luther* or *Calvin*, and who had

a free exercise of their
 And Religion. Religion, feared further the loss of the *Liberty of Conscience* which they enjoyed with great comfort. These Fears were sensibly encreast, because the Kings of *Hungary*, who were not in the least ignorant of the disposition of that People, endeavoured to take measures to prevent this Distrust from producing any Disturbance hereafter. The Nobility and People on their part, lookt upon these Precautions, as Chains prepared to fetter them with, when they least thought of it. They could not without a great deal of grief see them introduce as many Germans into Publick Places as was possible, which were formerly bestowed only upon the *Hungarian*

rian Nobility; and that under pretence of defending the Kingdom against the Turk, they encreased and multiplied German Garrisons in every place, without being at the pains of considering whether they were a Charge to the Natives of the Countrey. These Troops liv'd in no better Discipline than they used to do in *Germany*; and the provoked People did not fail to revenge themselves on all occasions. The *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* were also sensible, that they strengthen'd the *Roman Catholick* Party by all means; and that they filled their Countreys with *Missionaries*, or *Seminary Priests*, as we call them, and *New Churches*. As they knew that they could not hope to be tolerated, if the House of *Austria* should become absolute Mistress of the Kingdom; 'twas feared lest they should make use of the first occasion that they could meet with to gratifie themselves in this. When the Laws and the Antient Usages of the Countrey met with any opposition by the Precautions which the Emperors endeavour'd to take against the ill humour of the *Hungarians*, they always interpreted these Laws and Usages in favour of what they design'd to do. The *Hungarians* opposed all this in the Diets of the Kingdom, to the utmost of their power;

but as they had always the worst on't, their Efforts became every day more feeble. This was the reason that in the Year 1673. under the Reign of *Leopold Ignatius*, who mounted the Throne in 1655. the Roman Catholick and Imperial Party openly declared and testified by their Discourses, and by their Conduct, that for the Catholick Religion to be the sole Religion in all *Hungary*, and Absolute and Hereditary Authority were according to them two things which they were in the wrong to controvert with the Emperor.

Besides these mutual Discontents a part of the Hungarian Nobility was accused of serving themselves cunningly of this Disposition of Minds, to advance their particular Interests. Those among them that were in favour with the Emperor, made use of his Authority to accomplish their Designs; and the other whom standing by the Laws and Privileges of their Countrey had rendred agreeable to the People, made advantage of the kindness that their Countreymen had for them, without giving themselves the trouble of considering whether their Conduct was conformable to Equity, and to the Obedience which they owed to their Kings. It is even said, that to procure themselves a Sanctuary, in
case

case of need, they had Intelligence with the Port; and that sometimes to embroil the Emperor with the Grand-Signior, they made Incursions upon the *Turks Lands*; the blame whereof they laid on the German Garrisons, who were no ways concern'd in it, if we may believe the Imperialists.

In this state were the Spirits and Affairs in *Hungary*, as far as can be learned from those who have given the History of them, about the time that *Emeric Count of Tekely* came into the World; which was in 1656. a year after *Leopold Ignatius* was Crowned King of *Hungary*.

His Father *Stephan Tekely* Count of *Kersmark*, Hereditary Great Bailiff of *Arwa*, and Baron of *Shafnits*, was one of the Richest Lords of Upper *Hungary*, where we are assured he had 300000 Livres Revenue, a Sum considerable any where else for a private Man, but especially in a Countrey where Money is scarce, and where every thing that's necessary for Life is very cheap. This Lord professed the *Lutheran* Religion, and took care to bring up his Son therein. He gave him the best Education that he could, in a place where Ingenious Men are rare, and where all the Employment of the Nobility consists in going a Hunting, and making merry one with another.

That which might be of greatest advantage for him was the custom of riding, which is used there by Persons of Quality from their Infancy. Being of a robust complexion he easily accommodated himself to this exercise, which was of great use to him, in the great Marches^{wh^{ch}} he has since been frequently obliged to make, to surprize his Enemies, or to escape from their hands.

Whilst the first years of the Life of *Emeric* passed in the amusements of Infancy, or the Recreations of most tender Youth, the affairs of *Hungary* were every day more and more embroiled. *George Ragotski* Vaivode of *Transylvania*, in the Year 1656 gave occasion to Troubles which are not yet ended. He without the knowledge of the Port entred *Poland* with 30000 Men, which *Charles Gustavus*, King of *Sweden*, had almost quite subdued a little before; but that he was not in case to keep it, and would rather leave it to *Ragotski*, than to *John Casimir* King of *Poland*, whom he came to drive out of it, but *Ragotski* was defeated by the *Polanders*, with whom he was constrain'd to make a dishonourable Peace; the *Tartarians* also cut off 2000 of the Residue of his Army, and took a great many Prisoners, as they were going home. But that which was more troublesome

some to him was, that the Port, exasperated against this Prince, who was their Vassal, and engaged to undertake no War without his permission, sent an Army into *Transylvania*, to punish him for his Disobedience. *Ragotski* hazard-
ing a Battel with him, lost his life with it.

He had in vain implor'd the Emperors succour, who would have him first to deliver up to him the Counties of *Zathmar* and *Zambolich*, on the Frontiers of *Hungary*. The Vaivodes of *Transylvania* held them of the Kings his Predecessors, on condition that they should never deliver them to the Turks. The Emperor fear'd lest these last should seize upon them, and that afterwards it would not be so easie to recover them out of their hands; and the States of *Hungary* pressed him on their part to keep some Troops on the Frontiers of the Kingdom for the safety of their Countrey, and to endeavour for the same reason to retake these Countries whatever it should cost. But as the Deliberations of the House of *Austria* are ordinarily very slow, and the Executions ill regulated, *Ragotski* perisht, as has been said, before the Motion of the Imperial Troops could give any Diver-
sion in favour of the unhappy Vaivode. Besides this, the *Hungarians*, who had

so strongly pressed the Emperor to send a Body of an Army to the Frontiers, thought they should be Hungarians, whom they should levy on the place: and were surprized to see the Count of *Souches* arrive with 10000 *Germans*, as if those of the Countrey had not been capable to defend themselves, or they were distrustful of them. In the beginning of the Year 1660. the Baron of *Meierperg*, who had been sent Envoy to the Vaivode to oblige him to restore the Counties of *Zathmar*, and *Zambolich* to the Emperor, heard of his defeat and death, but he did not cease to continue his March to acquit himself of his Commission, by addressing himself to *Francis Ragotski* Son to the deceased, and to his Widdow, who were retired into these Counties. They not being in case to undervalue the Emperors Indignation after that they had drawn that of the *Turks* upon them, consented to whatever he pleased. In the mean while the Count of *Souches* had made his Army to advance, and the *Hungarians* furnisht him Provisions on free cost; but as the young *Ragotski* nor his Mother had not agreed on the manner how they should put the Emperor in possession of these two Provinces, there was great difficulty in it at first. He would introduce

duce the *Germans* into all Places, and *Ragotski* maintain'd that it was sufficient that the *Hungarian* Garrisons that were there, had taken an Oath of Fidelity to the Emperor, but he was forc't to yield to receive *German* Troops in *Tockay*, *Kato* and *Zathmar*, because they threatned to enter by force, and those Towns were not in case to resist them. In the mean while *Erschot* and *Onod*, two other places of these Counties, which were stronger, refused obstinately to receive them, and *Souches* could not undertake to force them. From this time the *Hungarians* began to fear more than ever, that they should be subjected to an Absolute or Arbitrary Government, without respect to any Law but the Will of its Sovereign. Some Princes and their Ministers have discovered strong Inclinations to assume a boundless Authority, when they have been suffer'd to do it, and it then seem'd that the Imperial Council took great steps towards it, notwithstanding its natural slowness so that they no longer doubted of it. In the mean while they treated those as Seditious, and Enemies to the State, who durst speak of the Laws & Priviledges *; tho' they protested at the same time that they had

* Which is the usual Method the Jesuits, the great Managers of the

Imperial Affairs use on all such occasions.

no design to meddle with them. But the *Hungarians*, whose Liberty was not yet wholly destroyed, did not cease to resist to the utmost, all that made any attempt upon them. *Paul Wesselini* was then *Palatine* of the Kingdom, a Dignity which he held for Life, and which clothed those to whom it was given with almost a Sovereign Authority, in Peace and War. This man who perfectly knew the designs of the Imperial Court, and that it was not safe to resist them openly, feign'd, as is said, a willingness to contribute to induce the Princess and Prince *Ragotski* to receive *German* Troops in every place; but he cunningly made them understand, that if they granted this Article, they would infallibly lose these Lands, and draw upon themselves the Hatred of all *Hungary*. *Souches* in vain proposed to give them assurances, that they would surrender all those Places, when there was no more occasion to fear the *Turk* on that side. They would not even give ear to another Expedient, which was, that they would put into *Erschet* and *Onod*, *Hungarian* Garrisons, but who should be paid by the Emperor, and should take an Oath of Fidelity unto him. Nothing could satisfy them, unless the Emperor did suffer the States of *Hungary* to raise Troops in their Countrey,

Countrey, and to employ the Revenues of the Kingdom to maintain them.

The Imperial General who had reason to distrust the Hungarians as they distrusted him ; Lodged the residue of his Troops in good intrenchments, Having received advice that the Turks beseiged *Great Waradin* in the County of *Zatbmar*, on the Frontiers of *Transylvania*, he would, according to some Historians, make the best of this occasion, by putting German Troops into it. But the Inhabitants, who believed they were strong enough to defend themselves, refused to receive them. They believed that the Germans by assisting them against the Turks, would subdue them afterward themselves on the first opportunity. The Protestants in the mean time were so ill treated in the Places where the Catholicks were the strongest ; that several of them would rather venture to fall under the Protection or Dominion of the Turk, who does not force the *Transylvanians* to take up the Turban, than be exposed to the Caprices of a Prince absolutely governed by the Jesuits, a more Barbarous sort of People, said the Hungarians, than the *Dervices*. They accused a *Calvinist* Minister of *Waradin*, of having declared this dangerous Truth to the People. Other Historians assure

assure us, that the Hungarians did their utmost in this occasion, but that the Emperours Ministers, whom they advised of the Importance of that Place, and the danger it was in, neglected to send succours thither. The Prince *de Portia* Prime Minister, naturally timorous and uncapable of a ready resolution, thought upon the affairs of the War as slowly as could be. Being desirous to shew the Provinces wherein he had Lands, the Post that he held next to the Emperor, and to draw presents from all hands, he was induced to go to see *Stiria, Carinthia*, and the Neighbouring Provinces. During this Royal Progress the Hungarians demanded succour in vain; and tho' the Hungarians pressed at the Imperial Court to take Orders about *Waradin*, they were little moved with their Prayers: They at last ordained Count *de Souches* to succour it, but as he had not wherewith to do it, their Orders were to no purpose. This small City, flanked with five good Bastions, and an advantageous Situation, was taken forty seven days after the Trenches were opened; the Inhabitants having forgotten nothing that was necessary to defend themselves, except their refusal, according to some, of the German succours, which were not strong enough to fight

fight the *Ottoman* Army: The Turks afterward put this City into the hands of a *Sangiack*, and made it a Magazine, & a Frontier Garrison against the Emperor, But then they made no attempt to make themselves masters of the rest of the Lands depending on *Transylvania*, that the Germans had seized; either because they would not entirely break with the Emperor, or because the good Orders which the Count *de Souches* kept there, had rendered this Conquest very difficult for them.

This General seeing that the Season was advanced, and that the Turks made no Motion, thought of putting his Troops into Winter-quarters. He obtain'd in fine of the Princess *Ragotski*, that *Onod* should receive a German Garrison; and the Hungarians that the General Quarters should be at *Cassovia*, a City of Upper *Hungary*, which was always very averse from Lodging German Souldiers. The rest of the Troops were posted in diverse Places of the County of *Zathmar*. The Count, as is said, had agreed to enter *Cassovia* with only a Company of his Guards, and seventy Musketeers. The Burgers should guard the Gates of the City, with two hundred *Heyduques*, or Foot-Souldiers, kept at the Emperors Charge, but who
were

were to receive their Orders from the Magistrates. As *Souches* was upon his March for *Cassovia*, whether for that he came with too many Men, and with a Train of Artillery, which there was no occasion for in Winter-Quarters; or whether the Palatine was sensible of his fault that he had committed in promising the Germans Entry into a City of that importance as *Cassovia* was; or for some other reasons, the People took the fright, and saw by the consequence that it was not without reason. When then the Count appear'd they shut the Gates, and the Burgers put themselves in Arms; which forced him to go and lodge near by it at *Sassawin* a Countrey House of the Bishop of *Agria's*. He lodged the Cannon in five adjacent Villages, where he distributed, the Souldiers. On the Complaints that the Count made of the manner how he had been received, 'twas answer'd him in the name of the States, that had been called at *Cassovia* before his arrival, that they never had received even their Kings, till they had first made them swear to preserve their Priviledges, one of the principal whereof was that they should never be forced to receive strange Troops into their Cities, and they could not part with a point of that importance.

The

The Germans not only pretended to be lodged, but they would be maintained on free Quarters; as if the Revenues which the Emperor had from *Hungary*, had not been sufficient to sustain a small Body of an Army, without oppressing the People. Where-ever the Troops were, they took away all they could finger without paying for it; and (as it is the custom of Souldiers, who do not observe Discipline but when they receive Pay,) they made more waste than was needful for their maintenance. The Hungarians on their part did not pardon any of these Violences, but killed them when they could take them at an advantage. They complained also to the Emperor of the Quartering of these Troops, but no regard was had to their complaints; either because they did not believe they were true, as they were, or because they had a design to push them on to a Revolt*, that they

might thereby have occasion to treat them as a Conquest, and so seize the great Estates of the Hungarian Nobility. For in *Hungary* they believed

that the Emperors Court was full of Princes and poor Gentlemen, who thirsted after other Mens Estates as much

* Which is another of the Jesuits Methods which they employ on such occasions

as

as any where in the World. The Hungarians in the mean time were no less apprehensive of the Army than of the Turks; and indeed we are no less poor when we are ruined by good Christians, than when by the most wicked Mahometans.

Thereupon was publisht for the Hungarians a Writing which contained a Breviate of the subjects of Complaint which they had, the principal Heads whereof are these. "1. That the Priviledges of *Hungary* were entirely "violated, by sending of Foreign "Troops into a Countrey which its Inhabitants could easily defend, would they "make use of their strength: 2 That "these Troops committed 1000, Violences and Cruelties: 3. That the Hungarians that possessed some Offices, durst "not do all their duty for fear of displeasing the Emperor: 4. That they had "thwarted all the Resolutions which "the Diet had endeavour'd to take, for the good of the Kingdom, by Intrigues "and Menaces: 5. That far from leaving the Protestants a free exercise of "their Religion, which several Diets "had granted them; they had driven "them violently from their Churches, "and had abused and banished their "Ministers, for no other reason but because

"cause they were not of [their Princes
 "Religion, which was not done even
 "in *Turky*: That whereas one of the
 "greatest Priviledges of the Hungarian
 "Nobility bears, that whatever Crime
 "they were Guilty of, it should not be
 "tried but by a Judge of the Countrey,
 "it had often been removed before
 "German Judges.* 7. That
 "for Crimes, which they
 "accused some private
 "men of, they had endea-
 "to punish the whole
 "Kingdom without distinguishing the
 "Innocent from the Guilty: 8. That the
 "Revenues which the Emperor received
 "whether of the Mines, Excise or other
 "Rights were more than sufficient to
 "maintain the Troops that were sent
 "thither from time to time, yet they
 "were not at all paid, which obliged
 "them to commit great extorsions on the
 "Hungarians, or make Inroads on the
 "Grand Signiors Lands, whose subjects
 "revenge themselves afterwards by
 "treating those of the Emperor in the
 "same sort.

* Note this as
 the 3d. Method
 of enslaving free
 Countries.

The Year 1661 which followed these
 first troubles, did further verifie all the
 Complaints. The *Transylvanians* after
 the Death of *George Rogotski*, and the
 flight of *Francis* his Son, were divided
 into

into several Parties, about chusing a Successor to him; but the two strongest were that of *Chimin Janos*, upheld by the Emperor; and that of *Folon Gabor*, Son to *Bethlem Gabor*, who had been Vaivode before *Ragotski*. The second put himself under the Protection of the Port, and with the help of the Grand Vizier had the better of his Competitor; the Vizier having promised to quit in his favours all sorts of Tributes of *Transylvania* for three Years. The former had at first sent to demand succour at *Vienna*, which was promised him so much the more easily, as the Emperors Interest engaged him to it. The Governour of *Waradin*, where was a strong Turkish Garrison, had put all the County of *Zahmar* under contribution, and threatned with Fire and Sword those that refused to pay what they demanded. The Ottoman Army was already in *Transylvania*, to assist *Gabor*. These Proceedings of the Turks gave Ground to fear that they had a design upon the *Hungarians*, the Council at *Vienna* concluded to send an Army into *Transylvania*, to hinder the Turks from making progress there. But they first demanded of *Chimin Janos*, two Places, as Pledges of his Fidelity, and to serve as Places of Arms for the Imperial

perial Troops. And he gave *Zekelheid* and *Kovar*, where they put two strong German Garrisons, and the Count of *Montecuculi* was sent into *Hungary* to command an Army of twenty thousand Men there. From thence he passed into *Transylvania* where he preserved the Castle of *Hust*, and forced the Turks to raise the Siege of *Forgarats*. 'Tis even said that he proffered them battle, but that they would not accept of it. In the mean while the Grand Signior, not approving of the Election of *Gabor* conferr'd the Principality of *Transylvania* on *Michael Abassi*, who promised, as is said, a more considerable Tribute. The *Transylvanians* would rather acknowledge this last, than engage themselves in a very long War. They complied with the Port, and *Abassi* remained sole Vaivode of *Transylvania*.

A little time after the Turks having acquainted the Emperor, that if he would not molest *Abassi*, they would attempt nothing upon *Hungary*. The Imperial Council thought fit to withdraw their Troops from *Transylvania*, but that was not done so soon, in the mean while *Hungary* not being concerned in these troubles we will insist no longer upon them.

The German Army being
1662. return'd into *Hungary*, began
to give the Hungarians the
same apprehensions as formerly. As
they hoped that the Emperor would re-
new a Truce with the Port, and that
they would have no need of Forreign
Troops in *Hungary*; they fear'd lest this
Army would endeavour to seize all the
Places of strength, and subject the King-
dom to an absolute Authority. They
already had treated the Protestants so
ill, that 'twas easie to judge that they
had resolv'd on their ruine. The Ro-
man-Catholicks, tho zealous, and satis-
fied otherwise to see the Protestant Re-
ligion go down, were jealous that under
pretence of [extirpating Heresie they
began entirely to enslave the *Hungarian*
Nation. 'Twas commonly said, that
'twas thus that the House of *Austria* had
reduced the *Bohemians*. All the Privi-
ledges of *Bohemia* were involved in the
ruine of the Protestants, and the same
Armies that they had employed to de-
stroy them, had served to oppress the
Publick Liberty for ever. *Philip II.*
King of *Spain* and his Children would
have done the same thing in the Low
Countreys; but seven of those
Provinces, who had the Courage to re-
sist them, had in fine shook off the Yoak
of

their Tyranny, and their Inhabitants were at this day the most free and most happy People of *Europe*. One day the Palatine and the Arch-bishop of *Strigonia*, passing in the great Markēt of *Presbourg*, the People surrounded them; and some of the most stirring praid them to write to the Emperor, that the Priviledges of their Country did not permit that they should leave Forreign Troops there so long. These Lords endeavour'd to sweeten them, by the Promise that they made, that they would get represented to the Emperor what they desired. 'Tis not known whether they did it, but the Council at *Vienna* gave no Orders for the Army to return into *Germany*; and the Hungarians refused absolutely to furnish them Provisions, unless they paid for them, and shut the Gates of their Cities when they thought to come thither to take up their Winter-Quarters. When they returned from *Transylvania* Raimond Count of *Montecuculi*, who commanded them, made them encamp near *Tokai*, expecting that the Emperor should mark out the places, where he meant they should be lodged. In the mean while a great many Souldiers died of Fatigue and Hunger, because there was nothing prepared for their subsistence, either for want of Money, or ill administration

stration of it, or that they had groundlessly depended on the Liberality of the Hungarians.

The Emperor being inform'd of the ill condition of his Army, and how they were treated by the People of *Hungary*, ordered some of the principal Lords of the Countrey to come instantly to *Vienna*. Among those were the Arch-Bishop of *Sirigonia*, and *Francis Nadasti* President of the Sovereign Council, who by the Emperors Order, jointly with those others who were made come to *Vienna*, sought out means of Subsistence for the Imperial Troops. After they had concluded what they were to do, they return'd into *Hungary* and *Nadasti* prevailed with them to receive the sick Souldiers into Hospitals, and to furnish the rest Provisions and Lodging for some time. But the Hungarians grew quickly weary of these troublesome Guests, and returned to their first refusal, founded upon the same reasons as before. The German Troops, among several other Insolences had demolisht some Protestant Churches, and plundered their Houses. The Protestants not being of humour to suffer these evil treatments, got together, and put all the German Souldiers to the sword who had removed never so little from

from their Quarters. The Emperor thereupon caused all those people to be attainted of High Treason. There needed no more to persuade them, that the Design was as much against their Possessions and Religion as their Persons, as a Roman-Catholick Historian * has well judged, That this reasoning was not far from Truth. The

Hist. des troubles, de Hong.
l. 1. p. 26.

“Emperor, adds he, who pretends to
“so great Piety, receives blindly all the
“Counsels that are given him for the
“Glory of God, and the extirpation of
“Heresie; without considering that
“those that inspire these sentiments into
“him, [laudable in appearance, but
“dangerous in execution,] are moved
“thereto rather by humane considerati-
“ons than for the Interest of Heaven;
“and that they seek less to establish the
“Worship of the true Religion, than
“to preserve the Hereticks goods for
“themselves, which they had obtain’d
“the Confiscation of.

The Hungarians, who did not look upon things with the same Eye, were so exasperated with this Conduct, that the States themselves Assembled at *Cassovia*, resolved to refuse the Imperial Troops Victuals and Lodging unless

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they

they paid for them, and got their Reasons represented to the Emperor.

At last in the month of *July*, the Imperial States having entred into Negotiation with the Turks, 'twas resolved at *Vienna* to withdraw out of *Hungary* 9000 Men of the German Troops that were there at the end of the Campagne.

Baron *John* of *Goes* was gone to *The-
miswar* on the Emperors side to treat with *Ali Bassa*, and the Accommodation was reckoned easie, because the Turks only demanded two things. They only required that a Fort should be demolisht which Count *Nicholas de Serin* had caused to be built upon the *Mure*, which discharges its self into the *Save*, that they might bring in thither the Booties which Rovers took from the Turks. They demanded further that the Emperor should call home his Troops that were in *Transylvania* and the Neighbouring Counties. Yet in the mean while all the Year was spent in sending and receiving Courriers, without concluding any thing.

That same Year the Emperor made a severe Regulation, for the Marching and Quartering of Souldiers, which might have prevented many of the Disorders had it been observed. For this end they should have paid the Army well,

well, and treated the Souldiers with the same severity that they punisht the Disobediences of the *Hungarians*, when they fell into the hands of the Imperial Comissaries. But whether they had neglected the second thing, or that they had some secret Order contrary to the Proclamation, the Troops which should lodge in the Cities of the Mountains about the end of the Year 1662. to stay till they saw where they should be employed the following Year, going along plundred several Countrey Houses, and committed the same Insolences there that they had done in conquered Lands. The Cities of the Hill Countrey having advice of this conduct, believed that they had made the Regulation, that was spoke of, only to amuse them, and refused absolutely to receive eight hundred Men that should have taken up their Winter Quarters there. They offered in vain to pay all their charge, they would by no means trust people, that never kept their word but when they found it for their purpose. Besides tho they had agreed to furnish Forrage for nothing to the Cavalry, it made so great desolation, that they were forced to pay for it. Five hundred Men, to whom they had designed for their Winter-

Quarters, *Nagibamia* a City of Upper Hungary, on the Frontiers of *Transylvania*, took so little notice of the Regulation during their March, that when they came before this place, the Inhabitants shut their Gates upon them, believing that they were more safe on the Turks side than on those that were come to defend them. The *Germans* who could not give any reason of their conduct, endeavour'd to maintain it by violence. They endeavoured to break open the Gates on the eighth of *December*; but the Inhabitants, who had called some of the Neighbouring Trained Bands to their assistance, charged them very roughly, and a great many were left dead on the place on both sides. The like Quarrels happened in other places in *Hungary*, where the *Germans* committed the like Insolences, which constrain'd the Emperor to withdraw the greatest part in the middle of Winter, for fear lest the desperate *Hungarians* should put these Ill-disciplin'd Souldiers to the sword in every place.

Chimin Fanos having been defeated and kill'd by the Treachery of some of his Officers, in the beginning of the Campaign 1662. tho his Son and some others, attempted to oppose *Michael Abffia*, as is already said, the Party of this

this last was infine the strongest. The Emperor opposing his advancement, he joined himself wholly to the Turks.

The Negotiation of *Themisware* continued all the Winter, the Turks making them still hope that it would be easily accommodated. Yet they made a Bridge over the Morass of *Essek*, which might have been a watch-word to the *Germans* that they had some design upon *Hungary*. But as the Commissaries met at *Themiswar*, to conclude the Truce, provided the Imperialists called home their Troops that were at *Zekelheid*, a place in *Transylvania*; and demolisht the Fortifications thereof, as the Turks for their part should that of *St. Job*, it could not be thought at *Vienna*, that there was any difficulty remaining to hinder the conclusion of the Treaty. Yet the Grand Signior would not ratifie what had been done, unless the Emperor would renounce in due form, all claims that he could make to *Transylvania*, and all its dependences; that he should demolish the Fort of *Serin*, that he should pay the charges of the War, and that he should send an Ambassador to the Port with great Presents. The Court of *Vienna* not being able to digest these Propositions, they began to commit acts of Hostility on both sides.

The *Hungarians*, who had beheld this Negotiation with grief, because it was not all communicated to them, were not at all sorry that it came to nothing. It seem'd hard to to them, that in a thing that concerned the Kingdom of *Hungary* only, two German Envoys were employed, who by the Orders of the Emperor, and without imparting it to the States, made Treaties whereupon the Repose or Ruine of the *Hungarians* depended. A little time after the Turks began to march with as great Numbers as they could into *Hungary*. The long Siege of *Candy*, which continued seven Years, had exercised a great part of their Armies. The Emperor and his Ministers who had lulled themselves asleep with hopes of a Peace, began too late to give notice to the States of *Hungary*, of the danger their Countrey was in, if they did not take speedy measures to oppose the Enemy. They answered the Emperor on *May 6th*, by the mouth of the Archbishop of *Strigonia*, who went to *Vienna*, that they would call together the Ban and the Arriere ban, and put all the Kingdom in Arms, if he would have it done; but that they might be in case to maintain their Troops, they must needs be raised before those of Germany arrived; because

cause otherwise these last would want so much Forrage that the Hungarian Cavalry after that could not make a Campagne. It was not thought fit at *Vienna*, that the *Hungarians* should put themselves in a posture of defence alone, without the succours of the *Germans* and the *Hungarians* being unwilling to receive these last before they were in case to act themselves, a considerable time was spent, which gave occasion to the *Turks* to take a Place of Importance.

Achmet Coprogli, the Grand Vizier, had advanced at first to *Belgrade*, where was the Rendezvous of his Army. As soon as it was come together he marched straight for the Bridge of *Essex*, wherein they had been at Work all the Winter, and from thence continuing their March to *Buda*, he afterwards, after a great deal of fatigue, by reason of excessive Rains, came before *Newhaussel*, on

Aug. 14. After having summoned the place, which refused to surrender, he laid Siege to it, and carried it by capitulation on the 27th of *September*. It is situated on a Plain, near the River *Nitrie*, about two Leagues from *Comorra* and Ten from *Presbourg*. They had begun to fortifie it, and had designed to flank it with six Bastions in form of a

Star ; but that was but half done, and they had not yet any Counterscarp. The Garrison consisted but of 3000 Foot and 500 Horse, which was not at all able to defend a Place half-fortified, against an Army of above 70000 Men having no hopes of being relieved. Count *Adam de Forgats*, and the *Marquess Gibert Pie*, of *Savoy* commanded this Garrison. Whilst the Grand Vizier was marching, or busied at the Siege of *Newhuassell*, it happen'd that the Emperor fell sick of the small Pox ; which retarded, for some days, all deliberations, the Emperors Ministers not daring to resolve on any thing while this Prince was in danger. Besides this, Prince *Portia* his Prime Minister, was accused of having been of a Humor so far from undertaking a War ; that the desire he had to enjoy Peace, made him believe that the *Turks* desired it as sincerely on their part. As soon as the Emperor found himself better, he called a Diet at *Presbourg*, to hasten the Levying of the Arrier-ban, but it was very slow, and there were but few Deputies there. Those that did not come excused themselves on the fear they were possest with of being carried away by the *Turks* Scouts, or that they could not return home. As they had unseasonably refused the proffers they had made,
in

whose Brother he took Prisoner, and routed the Army, as it was entering *Croatia*. He obtain'd this Victory on *Octob. 16.* a little after his Brother had beat the *Tartars*. These two Victories, very necessary to raise the Courage of the Imperialists, shewed what the *Hungarians* would have done, had the others had a design to make use of their strength rather than their money.

About the end of *October*, *Achmet*, after having taken care for the preservation of his Conquests, returned to *Adrianople*, where the Grand Signior was, and put his Troops into Winter Quarters, *Montecuculi* did the same with his, and there was no more action this year but some Inroads on both sides.

1664. The Emperor would gladly have had the Hungarians to furnish him Money to raise and maintain a German Army, to carry on the War, without their being concern'd in it, seeing them no ways disposed to do that, which they call'd a putting themselves into Chains, was present at a Diet at *Ratisbonne* in the beginning of 1664. to demand of all the Princes of the Empire succour against the Common Enemy. He obtain'd 30000 Men maintain'd, as well Cavalry as Infantry, on condition that he should furnish the Ordnance, and Artillery, and
Horses

Horses to draw it, besides, at his own charge, 16000 Horse and 18000 Foot. The Diet also would have the Troops of the Empire to form a separate Body, and that their Commanders should be Independent on those of the Emperors. The Bishop of *Munster* and the Marquess of *Baden Dourlach* were named to command them. It was no hard matter to see that the Princes of the Empire feared lest their Troops alone should be exposed, to spare those of the Emperor.

'Tis even said that they would have been glad that the House of *Austria* should lose nothing, but that they would have been * sorry to see it too

potent, lest she should make use of that Power against the Members of the Complices, whom it would be more advantageous for her to assail than

* This is inferred here to make the German Princes Jealous of the Emperor at this time.

to drive the Turks beyond the *Bosphorus*.

The Emperor sent likewise to demand succour in *France*, by Count *Strozzi* his Ambassador; and King *Lewis XIV.* out of Generosity, or with design to gain the affections of the German Princes, or to inform himself better of the state of *Hungary*, granted to the Emperor 4000 Foot and 2000 Horse, as one of the Princes of the League on the *Rhine*. 'Tis thought.

thought strange, that the Emperor should give occasion to the French King to be concern'd in the affairs of *Germany*, which good Policy would have requir'd that he should always be kept at a distance from. He might have shunn'd this by making use of the *Hungarians*, to defend their own Country; but this is lookt upon as a dangerous extremity, to which he could not come, unless he expos'd himself to the inviolably keeping their Priviledges; which some * Potentates judge the worst evil that can befall them.

* A true remark on those Princes that design against the Religion or Civil Liberties of their People.

The French Infantry under the Conduct of Count *de Cologni*, took the shortest way to embarque on the *Danube*, where Boats were prepared to carry them to *Vienna*, where they disembarked. As for the Cavalry, it went over from *Italy*, where there was no more need of them since the Treaty of *Pisa*, into *Carinthia*, through the Estates of the Republick of *Venice*.

Whilst they were busied in these preparations Count *Nicholas de Serin* form'd a design upon *Canisa*. To open his way to the taking of this place, he over-run all the Country round about it, even to the

the *Save*, burning and plundering all before him. He burnt even the City of the five Churches, yet without taking the Cittadel, which was very well fortified. He beat all the Parties of Turks that he encountred, and having marched even to the Bridge of *Essek*, a part of which he cut off, he returned with a great deal of Booty and Prisoners. He believed that he had cut thus off the Communication of the Turks of *Canisa* with those of *Sclavonia* and *Bosnia*; but they being sensible of his design, laboured continually in repairing the Bridge of *Essek*, and prepared themselves to open the Campaign in good time. Yet the Count was for blocking up this Place, while the Frost facilitated the approach of the Imperial Troops; thinking that the Turks could not come to its relief before the Spring time, seeing their March would be slow and difficult, by reason of the Morasses through which they must pass.

He had certain advice, that since that the Fire had consumed by accident the Magazines of *Canisa*, they had not sent any Provisions thither, so much as they must have to endure a Blockade, accompanied with a Siege. The Magistrates and Governor of *Grats*, the Capital of *Stiria* which the Garrison of *Canisa* kept in continual Alarms, mightily approved
of

of this design, and engaged to favour it with all their Forces. *Montecuculi*, a great Temporiser, and very unfit for ready or bold Enterprises, whether he followed his Natural Inclination, or through Jealousie, wholly disapproved this design; under pretence that the Troops would be ruined if they encamped in the Morasses so early, and that they would be rendred incapable of acting in the time when they should be most necessary. But this design having been proposed in the Emperors Council of War was approved there, because they believed that by the Conquest of *Canisa* they might facilitate a Peace; either because they came to keep what they had got on both sides, during this War, or that they made an exchange. *Canisa* is a small place, flanked with four Bastions, but much stronger by Nature than by Art, being environed on all sides with a Morass, which cannot be past but on a Bridge or Boat, in places where the Water is deep enough. When they should have assembled their Troops necessary first to Block up this place, and afterward to attack it, before the Turks could succour it, there was almost nothing found in a readiness, and the *Germans*, who were accustomed to go as late

late out of their Winter Quarters as they could, did it with so much slowness, that they could not profit by the advantage that the Ice would have afforded them, had they been more early. They could not march till about the latter end of *April*, and the Turks who had time to discover the Enterprize, put out all useless persons out of it. When they approacht the Place, the Generals, who had represented this Enterprize as very easie, in the Execution found difficulties which they did not at all foresee, or which they were not in case to surmount, after they had undervalued them in a Council of War. They could indeed diminish the Water of the Morass, by cutting some Banks, but it was not possible for them to dry it wholly. But they must seek Bavines and Earth from a far, and the Souldiers could scarce endure this fatigue. The Generals were, the Count of Strozzi for the Emperors Troops; that of *Serin* for the *Hungarians* and *Croats*; and that of *Hollac* for the Auxiliary Troops; and by ill luck they were almost never of one Opinion. The first was brave in his person; even to rashness, but high-spirited, and unfit to command in chief. The second fearless in fight in the open Field, but did not understand the way of Besieging and Attacking Places. The
third

third void of experience in Arms, gave no mark of Judgment but in contradicting others. There needed not so much to frustrate this Enterprize, even tho' the Garrison should not have defended its self with that vigor with which it did. About the end of *March*, the Siege being not yet much advanced, the Besiegers were informed that the Vizier advanced in great Marches, to come to the relief of the place; and on reiterated advices that they had received, they raised the Siege and retreated with so great precipitation, that they left a considerable quantity of Provisions and Ammunition in their Lines.

Achmet did not content himself with having made them raise the Siege of *Canisa*, he would further take the Fort of *Serin*, * on the other side of the River *Mure*. Fort *Sereni* described.

This Fort was situated on the steep side of a Hill over against the Ford of the *Mure*, environed with some Palisadoes, and some Works of Earth, with design, as has been said, to shelter the Prises which the *Croats* had taken from the Turks. The Free-booters having been often stopped at the Passage of the River, made *Nicholas* Count of *Serin* think of build-

building this Fort on the other side, as a shelter for them,

The Grand Vizier employed all his Forces to carry so unconsiderable a Post, and the Imperial Army which had be-seiged *Canisa*, being advanced on the other side of the River, were firmly resolved to defend it, to hinder the Turks from passing the *Mure* in this place. Count *Peter Serin*, with some *Croats* came at that time to succour his Brother, having left the Count *de Strasfolds* Governour of *Carlestadt*. The two Armies were encamped one over against the other, and as soon as the Grand Vizier endeavoured to maintain the Attacques, by new Troops, the Imperialists took care to relieve the Garrison. A Body of Turks having one day passed the River, Count *Strozzi* went against them, and charged them with so much Vigour, that he constrained them to repass with loss; but in this action he was wounded with a Musket Shot, whereof he died. In fine after a Months obstinate defence, (without *Montecuculi's*, who commanded the Body of the Imperial Troops, having any regard to them, tho Count *Nicholas* of *Serin* had sent to him several times to demand succours,) the Turks took the Fort by assault, and were disposed afterward to pass the River; because

cause having gain'd the Fort, they could safely run over all the Peninsula that lies between the *Mure* and the *Drave*, and which was then under the Government of *Nicholas de Serin* : They could go straight to *Gratz* and alarm all *Italy*. The Imperial Army having foreseen their design, entrenched, and had made Redoubts from place to place, to dispute the passage with the Turks, who despairing of gaining it, marched another way. Count *Nicholas de Serin* complain'd much of *Montecuculi*, who had refused him succour, but had no satisfaction. He likewise in vain demanded to command in Chief a Body of a separate Army, they would not hear him speak of it, which made him quit the service shortly after. 'Twas good luck for the Christians, that the Vizier was not resolute to pass the River in that place ; because the Imperialists began to want Powder, and Provisions became so scarce in their Camp, that several Souldiers died of Hunger. The *Venerians* soon after sent a great Quantity of Powder ; and decamping from thence, the Army was in a fairer way to have Provisions.

In the mean while Count de *Souches* got some advantage over the Turks on the other side of the *Danube*, of whom
he

he beat several Parties, and retook *Nitric* and *Lewents*, with the same easiness as they had lost it. He also defeated the *Basha* of *Buda*, and ran all over even to the Gates of *Strigonia*. But these advantages were of small consequence, if they had not hindered the Grand Vizier from executing his designs. He endeavoured to enter the Hereditary Countries, and particularly *Austria*, where there being almost no places of strength, he hoped to lay it all waste.

All the Imperial Army, commanded by *Monticuculi*, observed his Motions, and followed him every day, yet not daring to offer a Battel. The Turks being encamped on the Brink of the River *Raab*, near a Ford, over against a little Village named *St. Godard*, the Imperialists entrenched on the other side. On the last of *July* or the first of *August* in the Night, the Vizier caused three Batteries to be planted on the Brink of the River, and at break of day they began to Cannon the Imperialists; he made six thousand chosen Men of his Troops pass over under the shelter of the Cannon, and sent others after them instantly to cover them. *Monticuculi* had drawn up his Army in Battalia, upon a Heighth, with the greatest part of his Army, and had sent but a few Troops
to

to oppose the Turks passage. These last attacqued them so furiously, that in a very little time they put them entirely to flight, so that some of them that fled carried the news of the Defeat of the Imperial Army, as far as *Gratz*. In the mean while *Monticuculi*, if we believe the French Relations, did not move from the place, for fear of losing the advantagious ground he stood upon, and all the Turkish Army had passed, without any hindrance from him, if the Count *de Coligni* and the Marquess, *de la Feuillade*, without expecting his Orders, had not marcht right upon the *Janizaries* that had passed first, and charged them with that briskness, that they put them into disorder at the first brunt, and made them retreat toward the River. Some German Regiments, being ashamed to see strangers defend their Countrey more couragiously than themselves, followed the Example of the French, and forced the Turks to repass the *Raab* in disorder, and with great loss. The Vizier durst not pass over himself to relieve his men, but appearing on Horseback on the other side of the River, he encouraged them with Hand and Voice. Yet do what he could, he could not make them rally, and he lost sixteen thousand Men, because the brink of the River

on

on his side was of difficult access, and steep almost every where, After this loss, he was so frightened that he decamped the following night, without carrying off his Cannon, fearing lest the Imperialists, should entirely defeat his Army, if they should attack them in the fright they were in. Yet *Montecuculi*, maugre the advice of the French and of several others, contented himself with this advantage, without daring to follow them, tho the loss of the Imperialists was very unconsiderable. The Vizier retreated under the Cannon of *Strigonia*, and continued there some time, to hinder the Imperial Army from attempting the Seige of *Newhaussel*. *Montecuculi*, who acted always to the surest, durst not indeed attempt any thing, and his Conduct was so well approved at *Vienna*, that the Emperor declared him General Lieutenant of his Armies. Count *Peter de Serin* is accused of having committed two great faults this Year. The first of separating from Count *Strasoldo* Commandant of *Carleßadt*, in the absence of the Count *de Aversperg*, instead of entring *Bosnia* with him after the defeat of the Basha: Which incapacitated *Scrasoldo* to do any thing. The other is that he had in vain attempted to hinder the Turks from going a foraging with

with his *Croats*, and two thousand German Horse, which *Montecuculi* had given him for that purpose. After the death of his Brother, which happened in hunting, without being well known how, a little after the taking of his Fort; he did not fail to succeed him in the Dignity of Ban, or Viceroy of *Dalmatia*, *Croatia*, and *Sclavonia*; tho the report runs that the Court of *Vienna*, which would have it believed that a Boar had destroyed him, had caused him to be assassinated. He had also desired the Government of *Carlestadt*, but it was refused him. 'Tis said that the death of his Brother and this refusal made him disgust the Emperors service, and from that time he began to lay other foundations for a new Grandeur. As the evil that is spoken of him is founded on what his Enemies have published, before and after he was put to death, it is not safe to believe all that is spread in the World, tho we cannot disprove it.

We are assured that from that time, he joyned with the *Hungarians*, in whom he saw great signs of discontent, as to the Imperial Court. About the end of Summer, he went to the Bath of *Trenschin*, with all his Family, at the same time when the Widdow of *George Ragotski*

Ragotski arrived there with the Prince her Son, *Wesselini* was there also, and Negotiated a Marriage between *Francis Ragotski* and the Daughter of Count *Serinin*. Some Historians say, that 'twas thus that they formed the first project of a Conspiracy, whereof we shall speak afterwards.

However it be these Lords began to gain the Favour of the Hungarian Protestants of the Counties of *Zathmar* and *Zambolick*. The Princess of *Ragotski* after she with her Children had embraced the Roman-Catholick Religion, at the Instigation of the Emperor, had taken away their Churches, and had seized the fonds whereupon the Pension of their Ministers was assigned, and had distributed the revenue to those whom her promises or evil treatment had engaged to make profession of the Roman-Catholick Religion. It was whispered to the Protestant Ministers, that if they required what had been taken away from them, it should be granted them, provided they employed the Count de *Serinin* to interceed for them. They did not fail to make use of this advice, and *Ragotski*, in consideration of his Father-in-Law restored them their Churches, and caused the Ministers to be paid the Arrears of their Pension, with

with a promise that they should thenceforth be punctually paid. The Protestants, who thought they were very happy in Roman-Catholick States, when they were promised the exercise of their Religion, and that their Pastors should have whereupon to subsist, received what *Rogotski* granted them as a signal favour, and testified that they were ready to serve him with their Goods and Lives.

After the Victory of *St. Godard*, the Emperor, who had an extraordinary Inclination to make Peace, reapt no other advantage by it but that he thereby engaged the Turks to enter into new Negotiations with him. Those that had been begun at *Themiswar* were only interrupted by the War. The Emperors Agents remain'd all that time near the Grand Vizer, who had retained them to renew it when he should find it for his purpose. Having told them that it would be no hard matter at that time to enter upon some accommodation, he permitted them to give advice of it to the Emperor. This Prince presently embraced this occasion, and sent orders to *Montecuculi* to commit no acts of Hostility. The Vizer did the same on his part, and the Treaty was concluded ten days after the Battel of *Raab*. Besides the secret Articles

ticles, it was agreed that the Emperor should withdraw all his Troops from *Transylvania*, whereof *Abaffi* should remain Master unmolested, and that the Estates thereof, in case he should die, should make an Election of a new Vayvode, without any molestation, according to the ordinary manner; that the Turks should keep what they had taken, demolishing *Zekelheid*, on condition that they would not repair the Fort of *Serin*: That the Emperor, to whom the Sovereignty of the Lands, of the two Counties of *Zathmar* and *Zambolich*, which *Ragotski* enjoyed, had been given up, might notwithstanding build a Fort on the *Tibisque* to cover them: That this Truce should be for 20 years, and that in order to ratifie it, the Emperor should send to the Port an Ambassador, with a Present of 200000 Florens.

When these Articles were publisht very different judgments were made of it. some blamed the Emperor for this, that he was so far from reaping any fruit from a glorious victory, that he abandoned to the Turks, *Transylvania*, *Newhussel* and a considerable part of *Hungary*. They were astonisht that an Army of 40000 chosen Men, paid in a great part by others, had been made use of to no other end than to preserve to the Infidels the

Conquests they had made. The Imperial Ministers excused themselves with necessity, and they said that they chose rather to make a Peace that was not very honourable than a War that would be destructive to the Emperor. Yet some have believed that the principal reasons of this Peace were, on one hand, the Fear the Emperor was possessed with, that he should not be long succoured by the Troops of the Empire, who did not look upon his advancement with a good Eye: and on the other side the humour of the Prince of *Porcia*, prime Minister to the Emperor, strongly inclined to a Peace, because he was not capable to maintain himself in the credit he was in during the War. Add to this, that *Leopold* himself thought on nothing else than to receive *Margaret* 'of *Austria* his Spouse, and fear'd that if *Philip IV.* should die while the Empire was embroil'd in the Hungarian War, the French King would invade his Estates.

None were so troubled at so shameful a Treaty as the Hungarians. They saw themselves thereby abandon'd to the Turks, who in the midst of the Peace would not fail to work them 1000 mischiefs by means of the new Garrison of *Newhassell*. The two Counts of *Serin* and the *Czats*, who were in their Interests, dis-

disapproved it extreamly, because having been the first to advice the War, and the Fort of *Serin* having been partly a cause of it, they saw well that they should be despised during the Peace, or even hated as the Authors of a War destructive to the Emperor.

Some Hungarians were so bold as to rob the Secretary to the Emperors Resident, near the Grand Vizier, and to take away from him the Treaty of Peace, which he carried to *Vienna*. This action and the complaints of the Hungarians, who said openly, that they had shamefully abandoned almost all Lower *Hungary* to the Turks, and a part of the Upper to the Insolences of the Garrison of *Newhaussel*, obliged the Emperor to cause some of the Principal Lords of *Hungary* to come to *Vien-na*, to appease them. The Prince of *Lobkovits* Prime Minister, after the death of *Porcia*, spoke to them in name of the Emperor, and endeavoured to make them comprehend that this Peace was absolutely necessary. He added, that the Emperor was ready to withdraw the German Troops from the rest of *Hungary*, provided the Hungarians repaired the Fortifications of several little places near *Newhaussel*, and paid the Garrisons that were put therein. These Lords could

answer nothing to this, but that they would communicate what they had said to the first Diet, who should not fail afterwards to send Deputies to *Vienna*.

In the mean while Count *Gautier Lesle* was dispatcht to the Port, who went to *Adrianople* with the Grand Vizier, who led him as in Triumph, to ratifie the Treaty of Peace there. The Grand Signior sent on his part to *Vienna*, *Cara Mahomet Bassa*, for the same design, and brought the Count *de Lesle* to *Constantinople* to receive him there with more State.

1665. *Lobkovits* Propositions were answered by writing in the beginning of the Year 1665. The Hungarians represented, that the Kingdom had reason to complain that they had concluded a Peace with the Turk, without the consent of the States, that the Kings of *Hungary* had no Right to do it: That it was not an easie thing to hinder the Inroads of the Turks, that the German Soldiers, whom they would send against them, would do little less mischief than they: That in fine they could not be resolved to ratifie a Peace so disadvantageous to their Countrey, nor suffer themselves to be robbed by strangers.

Prince *Lobkovits* remonstrated to them anew, the necessity they were under to
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make Peace with the Turks, and told them, that they could not complain that the Negotiation of Peace had been unknown to the States of *Hungary*, since the Emperors Agents had communicated their Instructions to them at *Presbourg*; he added that it was true that they had concluded a Peace with great haste, but that that was done to take advantage of the good Disposition of the Vizier, which might change : That as to the rest, the Hungarians saw themselves delivered thereby from all the horrors, that so deadly a War would draw after it, which should be more cause of joy to them than the loss of *Newhaussel* was of sorrow: That in fine the Emperor would build Forts near *Newhaussel*, and put Troops therein, to oppose the Inroads of the Garrison.

The Hungarians seeming better satisfied than at first, did not fail to reply to *Lobkovits*, that the Officers that commanded the Troops, should be of their own Nation then : That he needed take no other Expedient to curb the Garrison of *Newhaussel*, than to reassemble under some Colours, a great number of Hungarian Soldiers, who were spread throughout the Kingdom, and without Employs, That they might put those people in places of *Hungary* exposed to

the Turks, instead of the Germans, who did not much less mischief than the Infidels, through want of Discipline and of being paid. The Emperor having at last agreed to these Articles from the Mouth, they subscribed the Peace, and carried back the Crown of the Kingdom of *Hungary* to *Presbourg*, which had been carried to *Vienna* during the War. The Emperor dismiss the greatest part of his Troops, and the Bishop of *Manster*, and the Marquess *de Baden Dourlach*, Generals of the Troops of the Empire, with considerable presents; after which they departed, and delivered their Troops to those that had given them.

One would have thought after this, that *Hungary* should enjoy a long Peace, but the Promise that was mutually given on one side, not to meddle with the Privileges of the Kingdom, and on the other to observe the Treaty of Peace, was not kept on either side. The Count *de Rothal* Commissary General to the Emperor having withdrawn some Imperial Troops from *Transylvania*, that remained there, instead of leading them the way to the Hereditary Countreys, placed them anew in the Upper *Hungary* at *Zathmar*, *Tokai*, *Kalo* and *Onod*, never minding the Complaints of the Hungarians. There were alio German Garrisons

sons put into *Nitrie* and *Lewents*, which *Souches*, as has been said, retook from the Turks. The Hungarians seeing that they had not kept their promise which they had given them, made Inroads up on the Turks, as if the War had stⁱ continued; they made complaints of it *Vienna*, and reveng'd themselves cruelly on all the Frontiers of Christian *Hungary*. One of the first Hungarians that mounted his Horse, to violate the Treaty of Peace, was Count *Palassi Imbre*, with design to make the fault be charged upon *Wesselini* the Palatine, his particular Enemy, as if he had done nothing but by his Order. *Palassi* not being believed, or the Council of *Vienna* not judging it fit to act against *Wesselini*, he was so far transported, that he attempted to plunder and burn the Palatines Lands; but *Ragotski* and *Abassi* taking this last part hindred *Palassi* from executing any thing, though he had demanded assistance from, the Turks, and had offered them his Son, and the Fort of *Debin* which belonged to him, as Pledges of his Fidelity. The disturbances of the Hungarians among themselves, which should have been determined by the Laws of the Countrey, gave occasion to their Enemies, to represent them as common disturbers at the Imperial Court, who

seeking but a plausible pretence, to leave the German Garrisons that were there among them, did not fail to make advantage by what presented it self.

The Hungarians were further accused of having made several attempts on the person of their King. According to the Laws of *Hungary*, the King should call a general Diet of the Kingdom every third year, and be present himself at it, to regulate the Affairs of State. The Diet then having been called in form at *Presbourg* Sept. 27. 1665. the Hungarians earnestly prayed that the Emperor would be there, but he absolutely refused it. 'Twas said since that there was a Conspiracy among them to seize his Person. Whether this was true, or that the Emperor not designing to agree to the calling back of the German Troops, which he knew well they would demand of him, would not for this reason put himself into their hands, he gave them new matter of complaint by this refusal.

1666. In the beginning of the Year 1666. the Sovereign Chamber of *Hungary*, solicited by the complaints of the Inhabitants of *Zathmar*, sent some Deputies to *Vienna*, to complain that Colonel *Spaar*, who commanded the Troops that were put into that place, had constrained the Inhabitants to give him a
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sum of Money, as if it were to pay off the Garrison, but that he converted it to his own use. The same Deputies had order to represent the Extorsions and Violences of all the German Troops, and to demand that he would call them home according to the promise that he had made to them.

Besides the reasons of not calling them back, that have been already related, there came pat for the Emperors purpose, advice that the Hungarian Protestants had chosen Heads, to oppose the progress of the Roman Religion in Upper Hungary, by the Example and Authority of the Family of *Ragotski*. Whether this advice were true or not, there needed no more to stop the mouths of the Deputies, who durst not take the Protestants part.

Those that are of humour to make Conspiracies, or what men would make to be such, do not stop at the first, unless they have a mind to prevent them. Fearing to be punished for their Projects that have not succeeded, if they should come to be discovered, they endeavour all anew to put those, against whom they have conspired, in a state incapable to do them any hurt. The Counts *Nadasti* and *Serin* formed once more a design of seizing the Emperors person, who must

pass by near *Puttendorf*, going to meet his Empress. Count *Serin* who brought his Daughter to *Ragotski*, to consummate the Marriage, was under this pretence come into *Hungary* with a numerous Train. They had likewise publisht that the Turks would make sure of a considerable Pass, to send Troops into *Dalmatia* against the Venetians, with whom they were still at Wars, and that the Emperor favour'd it under-hand. To oppose this design of the Infidels, they had almost rais'd 500 Men; for whom they had assign'd *Puttendorf* as the place of Rendezvous. The Emperor must ride Post near by that with the Prince of *Lobkovits*, Master of his House, and twelve Horse-men; and it would have been easie for those Troops to invest him, if the Emperor had not pass'd sooner than the Conspirators believed he would, and before their Troops were arriv'd. The Emperor met happily with his new Spouse, and led her to *Vienna*, where the Marriage was consummated on *Decemb. 5. 1666.*

1667. The Year following they spoke of having her Crowned Queen of *Hungary*, and the States of the Kingdom were call'd together for this purpose at *Presbourg*. The Counts of Upper *Hungary* refused to send their Deputies thither,

ther, unless they call'd home the German Troops, which they refused so much the more obstinately as they demanded it eagerly. The Emperor was not ignorant they would not have given so many fresh on-sets on this Article, but to recover their Liberties and Priviledges; which perhaps they might make use of in a manner disadvantageous to his House, if he should happen to die; and the Hungarians could not endure, that the House of *Austria* should from thenceforth look upon *Hungary* as her Hereditary Countreys, where it should have an Authority little different from that which the Grand Signior has over his Subjects. In the mean while they protested on the one hand, that they would no ways infringe the Priviledges of the Hungarian Nation; and on the other, that they had nothing so much in their Hearts, as the Glory and Advancement of the Imperial House. So true it is, that we must keep at least in appearance the Laws of a Society, if we would not quite lose it.

About this time *Francis Wesselini*, who has since been charged by some with slowness and softness, because he did not execute the Emperors Orders readily, and by others with Infidelity for the same reason. Perhaps being very
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subject to the Gout, and to other Infirmities, he did not act with a readiness necessary in great Affairs; and that refusing to violate the Laws of his Country as they would have had him, his Fidelity became suspected. These two depend the one upon the other. It is rare that a great People complains of the Violation of their Priviledges without any reason; and it is common with Princes to treat Magistrates and People that refuse to pay them blind Obedience as seditious and troublesome. Count *Nadaſti*, President of the Sovereign Council, and one of the best Qualified Gentlemen of *Hungary*, stood up for the Dignity of Palatin, but the Emperor mistrusting him, refused it, and judged it better for his purpose not to fill it in the state he found the Kingdom in then; fearing lest he whom he should confer it upon, should make use of the Authority of his Office to maintain the Priviledges that the Court of *Vienna* had for a long time cast an ill Eye upon.

1668. 'Tis said that *Nadaſti*, disgusted that he was refused a Dignity, which he thought was his due, attempted a third time to kill the Emperor, or to seize his person. The Expedient was to set the Imperial Palace on fire, and to stop the Emperor, who would not fail
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to depart *Vienna* in great haste to flee from the Fire. 'Tis added that *Nadasti* corrupted a Carpenter, who wrought in the new Apartment that the Emperor had caused to be made, and which was set on fire *Feb. 23.* It is at least very certain, that the Fire seized on the Imperial Palace that day, that it was not known at first how it happened, and that no effect of this Conspiracy was seen. It has been said since, that the Truth of all was discovered by Papers and the Confessions of *Nadasti*, who had no body to take his part after his Death. He was likewise accused of designing to Poison the Emperor at a Feast, to which he had invited all the Imperial Court; and 'tis said that his Wife hindred it, by causing to serve to the Emperor another Pasty instead of that which was poisoned. He had a mind another time, if we may believe some Historians, to poison the Water which that Prince drank, by casting a dead Dog into it that had died of poison. The boldness of these Enterprizes, and many other Circumstances, made them to be but little believed; it is difficult to judge surely of it, on what is said. The Interests that Men often have to destroy persons either rich or considerable for their Offices, and the great care that has been taken to make
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them unjustly pass for Traitors, have hindred a great many people from being credulous in these matters ; that they look upon almost all Conspiracies that are spoken of as fabulous ; unless those against whom they have been made, have been either killed or wounded.

The death of Count *d'Aversperg*, Governour of *Carlestadt*, bred in the Count *de Serin* a desire to have his Post, by means whereof he would be Master of *Croatia*. The Countess his Spouse parted for *Vienna* with this design ; but tho' she forgot nothing, to obtain this Government for her Husband, she could not compass her design. It was resolved at *Vienna*, by little and little, to put the Nobility of *Hungary* and *Croatia* out of case to come and importune the Emperor, about the observation of the Usages and Laws of their Countrey. For this effect, far from gaining by Graces those whom they suspected to be too much wedded to them, they refused them every thing that was in their power to keep from them. The Government of *Carlestadt* was given to *Joseph* Count of *Haberstein*, Knight of *Malta* ; and the Countess of *Serin* returned into Upper *Hungary*, to her Son-in-law *Ragotski* in the greatest discontent.

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They still continued their complaints against the German Garisons in that Countrey. Yet they obtain'd no recalling of them, nor Justice for the Injuries they had committed on the Inhabitants, for that it was resolved upon at *Vienna*, to mortifie them as much as was possible; to suppress, as they commonly spake, the Seditious Discourse of the Laws and Priviledges which those people had continually in their Mouths. All this and the not very pliable humour of the Hungarians, made them put several of the German Souldiers to the Sword, as they had done more than once. The Princess *Ragotski*, who was grown a Zealous Roman-Catholick, did not suffer the Protestants to be well used long in her Sons Lands; so that People believing that the Emperor, perhaps not being well affected towards *Ragotski*, upon the account of his Father-in-law the Count *de Scrin*, would do them some Justice, they made their Application to *Vienna*, to obtain their being supported as at first. And they at the same time complained of the Disorders of the German Souldiers.

1669. The Hungarians were treated harshlier than ever on this last complaint, & were upbraided with all the losses that

that were sustain'd in *Hungary* for several Years, as if they had been the causes of them. As to what concern'd the Protestants Father *Emeric*, Confessor to the Emperor had so exasperated that Prince against Heresie, that he spoke of nothing but their abjuring it, without which they would not hear them more; as if they must change their sentiments or pretend to have others, on things of so great importance, by Menaces and harsh usage.

When the Deputies which had carried these complaints were returned home, and had inform'd the People of their ill success, one might have seen all their minds alarm'd, and vainly seeking for remedies for so great evils. To let the Germans alone, said they, who treat the Hungarians worse than the Turks, were to resolve to live in misery and contempt, to oppose them by force would stir up a Civil War, whereof they could not foresee the end, and whereof the Infidels might reap terrible advantages.

The Protestants in particular knew not whither to turn themselves, not daring to trust themselves to the Roman-Catholicks, among whom there were few persons so moderate to bemoan them, if the violences of the Germans had

had not been extended on the Roman-Catholicks too. The Lutherans and Calvinists, according to their wont, scarcely agreed among themselves in these extremities, and if one of these Parties of Protestants were ill treated the other would be little concern'd for it.

The mischiefs that were common to all the Hungarians of what Religion soever they were, unless they were ready for every thing that should be commanded them, without making any use of the Judgment that God has given all men; these misfortunes, I say, form'd a kind of Union among them. Perhaps also the Humour of the Nation equally impatient and peevish contributed to make a kind of Harmony among their complaints, and engaged them in common to seek Remedies for their evils. The example of the *Transylvanians* among whom there is far greater diversity of Religions, since there are Socinians publicly tolerated, and who live in quiet under the Protection of the Turk, was a Temptation to them. They resolved to demand the same Protection of the Port by a Deputation shameful to Christianity: For, in fine, suppose that a Christian Prince give to People of the same Religion,

gion, just reason to believe that they shall be better under the Empire of Infidels, than under his; or that Christian Subjects should make such a Judgment without reason, which yet is very difficult; however it is a thing that the Mahumetans themselves have never done with respect to the Christians. Behold the Fruits of Efforts, *that were made to shake off a Despotick Empire over Souls and Bodies.*

'Tis said that the Counts *Nadaſti, Serin, Frangipani,* and *Taptembach,* entred into this Conspiracy, with almost all the richest Nobility of *Hungary*; some through Ambition or Interest; others through hatred to the *German Nation*, which they could not endure in their Lands, some few for the sole Love of the Liberty of the Hungarian Nation; the greatest part for these different Motives that were at the same time presented to their Mind

They durst not send Deputies of their Nation, for fear the Emperors Resident at the *Port* should smell out their design too soon. They imployed *Transylvanians*, who being under the Protection of the *Port* could go and come without suspicion. The Deputies were received very well of the Grand Signior at first, but as he did nothing but by the
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Interposition of his Prime Vizier, he referred them to this Minister, who was then in *Candia*. As he was extraordinarily busied in the Siege of this place, he referred them to his Interpreter *Pangiotti*; to whom they were forbidden to say any thing, because it was believed that he favoured the Imperialists. This retarded the Negotiation, but in fine they propos'd to the Vizier to make the Kingdom of *Hungary* Tributary to the Port, and to put it under its Protection, on condition that as to the rest, the Grand Signior would leave them all their Priviledges. They represented that it would be easie to withdraw them from the Obedience to the Emperor, if the Port sent into *Hungary* an Army of an hundred thousand Men, to take the places where there were German Garrisons; during which time the Hungarians for their part, would enter the Hereditary Countries, or oppose with a considerable Army the Troops that should come from *Germany*. They offered to the Turks to leave them the Places they had conquered; which should serve as a Pledge to assure them of the Fidelity of the *Hungarians*. The Infidels after they had heard these Propositions did not think they had offered them enough; they would have them

to put several Cities into their hands, before they broke entirely with the Emperor, to assure them that they would not break, and these were the most important places of the Kingdom. The Deputies could not yield to this Article, and when they had given advice of it in *Hungary*, they answered only, that the Places which the Turkish Army should take should continue the Grand Signiors. They could not resolve to give Pledges before they had received some succours. The Turks continuing firm in their demands, the Deputies took leave of the Vizier without having done any thing, and without obtaining any thing in writing to shew in *Hungary*. Yet they promised them in General Terms to Assist them as much as they could.

'Tis not known whether the Grand Vizier, being still puzzled with the Siege of *Candy*, would not engage himself in a new Enterprize, or if the Losses which he had sustain'd in this Island, or in *Hungary*, discouraged him from embracing what they proposed to him; but we are assured that *Pangiotti* gave notice of what passed to the Emperors Resident.

1670. The Court of *Vienna* having received this Advice, caused exact search
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to be made every where to find out the Heads of the Conspiracy, and gave necessary Orders to raise Recruits in every place, and to have an Army on foot instantly. About that time the Count *Tattembach* was betrayed, as is said, by one of his Grooms, who had the Copy of a Project that his Master had concerted since the Year 1667. with the Count *de Serin*, to make themselves Masters of *Croatia* and *Stiria*. An Officer named *Bukouaski*, was also gone to the Port for the Count of *Serin*, to offer her a yearly Tribute for *Croatia* and *Stiria*, if she would assist him to put himself in Possession of it. Whether that they would amuse the Count, or that *Bukouaski* cheated him, he vainly believed that a small Body of an Army would come to him from *Canisa*, to assist him to surprize *Gratz*, which he would give up to be plundered at the beginning of the Campagne. He had already drawn together what Troops he could, and had writ to his Friends several Letters that were intercepted. He had thought he could easily surprize *Copranits* a City of *Croatia*, which he had promised to deliver up to the Turks, but he could not compass his end. He received no Money of *Ragotski*, who should lend him a considerable sum, to pay his Troops, and others

others which he had caused to be raised in *Valachia*, who refused to march without Money; so that he could keep none with him but a few Morlaques. *Frangipani* on the other side endeavoured in vain to Master *Zagabria*, and several other Cities of *Croatia*, and discovered at the same time a design, which he was not then in case to execute. They surprized also some of his Letters to Officers, in whom he confided, & to whom he told all. The want of Secrecy, and the precipitation and imprudence of the Heads, if what is reported be true, made their design miscarry in *Croatia*. The Count of *Tattembach* was arrested at *Gratz* on March 22. 1670. which apparently made the Count of *Serin*, without expecting the Succour that he hoped from the Turks, and without having taken any certain measure, take the Field, and commit some Acts of Hostility, which not being able to weaken the Emperor, did only render the Advice that was given him indubitable, and confirm'd the Depositions of some of his Accomplices that were gone to *Vienna*. The Troops which the Emperor had got together from every place being partly on foot, General *Spankaw* was sent into *Croatia* with 6000 Men, besides those that were order'd to enter; to suppress

suppress, if it was possible, the Conspiracy, which was not yet supported by any considerable Force. The Count of *Serin* surprized before he was in a state of Defence, and not knowing that the Emperor was very well inform'd of his Designs, thought it his best to feign, and sent straight an Express for *Vienna*, to assure him of his Fidelity, and to excuse his Conduct as much as is possible. He own'd that he had had correspondence with the Turks, but that it was only to penetrate the better into their Designs, which the Emperor had permitted him before; that it is further true, that they had made great proffers to him, but he added that he had refused them all.

The Court of *Vienna* did not suffer it self to be amused with such gross services; it ordered *Spankau* to lay Siege to *Shacketorn*, whither the Count was retreated, with *Frangipani* his Brother-in law. Not being in case to resist, he sent *P. Marc Forstal Augustin* to *Vienna*, to endeavour to find out some way of accommodation. They required of him to send his Son for an Hostage, and that he should entirely surrender himself at the Emperors discretion, after which they promised to grant him an Amnesty. The Count brave in fight, but not veris
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in Politicks, did not know that they did not ordinarily send an Amnesty but to those whom they could not undertake to punish without running a great risque, he fell into the Snare which was laid for him, and staid at *Shacketorn*, whither *Spankau* went to besiege him. In vain he sent to this General to tell him that he had made his Peace at the Imperial Court, *Spankau* executed his Orders, which had not as yet been recalled. The Place not being in a state of Defence, was taken in a little time, *Serin* and *Frangipani* having abandoned it. In the mean while they took the formers Wife Prisoner there, and plundered their best effects. They were gone out with thirty Horse, with a design to cast themselves at the Emperors feet, by the advice of the Count of *Keri* who betrayed them, & received them in his Castle, whence they were carried Prisoners to *Vienna*. After they were taken, it was no hard matter to reduce the small number that sided with them in *Croatia* into Obedience.

The Lords of *Hungary* that were entered into the same Conspiracy with *Serin* and *Frangipani*, and who had got more Men than they, took the Field too late. Their pretence at first was the fear they were in that the Turks had some design upon *Hungary*, because they had
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ordered to find out the Fords of several Rivers, which were very low that Summer. They held, notwithstanding the Emperors Prohibition, who had had advice of it, an Assembly at *Cassovia*, where a great number of Nobility and Deputies from several Counties of *Hungary* met, they resolved in this Assembly to form a Body of an Army of twelve thousand Men, eight thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse; to oppose, as they said, the Incurfions of the Turks. The Emperor thereupon cited those that had been at this kind of Diet, and adjourn'd them to meet at *Newfol*, promising to satisfie their Lawful Complaints. But those that were engaged in this affair, saw very well, that the Council of *Vienna* sought only to gain time, and being already resolved to defend their Priviledges by Arms, were but little frightned with this Citation. 'Tis said that *Nadaſti* whom the Emperor did not yet suspect hindred them secretly from obeying his Orders, tho he pretended to make them execute them. The Malecontents made haste to levy as many Men as they could, to put them under *Ragotski's* command, who had promised to maintain two thousand Men for himself. The thirteen Counties made for this end an

Act of Union with their Deputies signed.

Ragotski endeavoured to surprize *Tokai*, and *Mongats*, his Mothers Residence, and where his Fathers Treasures were. His Mother would not yield up that place to him, either because of the Money which she kept there, or because she had not been of the Party. In the mean while those that continued faithful to the Emperor met at *Newsol*, but to no purpose, because the Demands which the Malecontents made were rejected with disdain. They desired that the Protestant Churches might be restored to them, as having possessed them peaceably for several Years? That they would recall all the Germans, and that they should put Hungarian Souldiers in their place; that the Troops they had raised should continue on foot, to make War on the Turks by their particular Authority. We are assured that there was joy at *Kienna*, especially when they had taken the Count of *Serin*, and knew that the Turks continued neuter, that they had found out a sure way to forfeit the Estates of the Nobility of *Hungary*; for they did not doubt but they could easily compass their end on the Malecontents, if the Turks did not concern themselves,

as indeed they thought they would take no share in these troubles. The Emperor who at first had demanded succours of the Diet at *Rattisbonne*, and had obtain'd it, thanked those who had engag'd to furnish him in it, having enough of his own Troops to reduce the Malecontents. The event shewed that he was not mistaken, and he might sufficiently judge of it, by the little skill the Chiefs had, which appeared in all their conduct. It was as easie to conjecture, that the People would not acquit themselves of their duty as they ought; because that in a Society, where no body has a right to command, and cannot get himself fear'd, 'tis rare that Obedience is exact, especially in the beginnings.

Ragotski not being expeditious enough, or not understanding the Office he had taken upon him, had no success in any thing; the Imperial Troops on the contrary advanced without losing time, and began to force the Passes in Upper *Hungary*, that the Malecontents had seized. The Turks would not break with the Emperor, as they had flattered themselves, and some Troops of *Valachia* which *Ragotski* was to have did not come. All this join'd with the solicitation of his Mother and Father-

in-law, who writ Letters to him from Prison, wherein he advised him to surrender himself to the Emperor; all this, I say, was more than enough to make his Sword drop out of his hand. He disbanded his Troops the greatest part whereof retired into *Transylvania*; and his Mother went to *Vienna* to beg his Pardon. She obtain'd it on condition that he would receive an Imperial Garrison into all Places that belonged to him, which he should maintain on his own Charges.

The Principal the Head of Malecontents having abandon'd them, it was no hard matter for General *Spork*, who commanded an Army of above fifteen thousand Men, to reduce all the rest. No place of the Malecontents was strong enough nor provided as it ought, to maintain a Siege against him. Even the Hungarians that were no ways concern'd in the Conspiracy were treated as Rebels, as to what concerns the quartering of Souldiers, and the other Inconveniences, which an Army without Money and Provisions use to produce in Places through which they pass. They durst not so much as complain, for fear of being punisht as Rebels.

In the mean while the Count *de Serin* who at first was made to hope he should obtain the Emperors Pardon, grew every day more Guilty, and his Brother-in-law *Frangipani* is charged with having betrayed him in Prison, that he might the more easily obtain a Pardon for himself, and to succeed to his Offices. We are assured further, that there were found at *Muran*, the City of the Residence of Palatine *Wesselini*, wherein several Assemblies of the Malecontents had been held, a vast number of Papers, in the hands of one *Nagiferents*, Secretary to the League. By these Papers they learn'd all the Circumstances, and Accomplices of the Conspiracy, which were very pat for the purpose, of the Ministers thirsting after the Estates of others, especially the richest of *Hungary*. It is surprizing that this *Nagiferents*, who was forc't to deliver those Papers to the Prince of *Lorrain*, did not burn those dangerous evidences of a Plot that had proved abortive, when he saw the Place besieged. If this be true, as well as many other Circumstances of the Ruine of this Party which are reported, we must acknowledge that the Hungarian Nobility was scarce capable to succeed in an Enterprize of this importance.

'Tis said that they discovered by these Papers, that Count *Adasti* was an Accomplice of the Conspiracy; which being, 'tis hard to comprehend how he staid at *Puttendorf*, when they came to seize him. It's true we are informed that he rendezvouzed, for the next day, five hundred Men, that should have attended him even to the Lands of *Venice*. The expedient was dangerous, and it had been more safe for him to have made his escape with a small company, and on the first advice he had received of the taking of *Muran*. But this Conduct suits very well with designs equally enormous and extravagant that are attributed to him. However it be he was too rich to escape, and eight Millions of Livers which he was worth in Estate, served much to aggravate his Crime.

1671. We have no design to relate in particular the Circumstances of his Prison, no more than of the other Counts that have been spoke of. We will only say that in the Diet of *Hungary* that was assembled at *Lentch* the Hungarians, besides their ancient Complaints, that the German Souldiers made them renew, with a great deal of Grief, demanded according to their uncontrovertible Priviledges, to be Judg-
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es of the Prisoners. This was absolutely refused them under pretence that some of them were the Emperors Officers. They feared that the Hungarian Judges, tho Innocent as to the Conspiracy would either find the accusation ill grounded, or that counterbalancing the Duties of Princes with those of Subjects, they would Judge those Counts as innocent, at least, as those who would deprive *Hungary* of all its Priviledges. It was nothing at *Vienna*, to violate the most equitable Laws; and thereby to reduce an Infinite Number of Innocent Families to Misery; on the contrary it was a crime but to complain of it, and an attempt deserving the utmost Punishment, but to defend their Laws, by the same way by which they would ruine them. They were not of the same Judgment in *Hungary*, and these different Judgments, did not suit the Imperial Court. The four Prisoners were condemned to be beheaded for High Treason, by Judges of the Emperors appointment: Count *Nadasti* was executed at *Vienna* on *Aug. 30. 1671*. And the Counts of *Serin* and *Frangipani* the same day at *Newstadt*. Count *Tattenbach* suffered the same Punishment at *Grats*, *Decemb. 1. 1671*. His Death having been delayed by reason of

some controverſie that there was about the Confiſcation of his Eſtate.

In making their Proceſs, we find, as is ſaid, that almoſt all the beſt qualified Nobility of *Hungary* had ſome hand in the Conſpiracy; ſome for effectually tampering in it, others for not diſcovering it, others again for not oppoſing it as they ought. 'Tis thus that *Vargas* *

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Annal. Lib. 1.
p. 5.

the Spaniſh Miniſter in the Low Countries maintain'd that the *Hereticks* having robbed the Churches, and the *Orthodox* having done nothing to hinder them, they ought all to be hanged. The Hungarian Nobility underſtood thereby that there was no means of eſcape left them but by flight or by ransoming themſelves with great ſums, or in fine by defending themſelves. Every one took one of theſe three ways, according to the State of his Affairs, and the Diſpoſition he found himſelf in. The Emperor having notice that ſome had fortified themſelves in their Caſtles, with a deſign to defend themſelves by force, againſt the ſearch that might be made for them, ſent General *Heiſter* with thouſand Horſe to ſeize thoſe People. He made himſelf maſter of all the places pertaining to the Counts of *Oſterchits*, *Petrozzi*, and *Baragozzi*, where
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'tis said he found a great deal of Provisions and Ammunitions. From thence he marched against *Stephan Count of Tekeli*, who protested that he had always been faithful to the Emperor, and offered to justify himself according to the Forms established by the Laws of *Hungary*; but who was ready to have recourse to Force for his defence, if they pretended to have no respect to these Laws, and to judge him after the Turkish way, as he saw they had done as to others. He did not at all believe that Princes could by Divine Right violate all the Laws, and the People who had chosen them for their good, and not for their destruction, should have no right to oppose some other thing than sole Patience. He distinguished by an ill timed notion the Subjects of Christian Princes, and engaged by their Oath and Religion to observe certain Laws; from those who obey the Turk, and who are under a kind of Slavery. To extirpate so gross Errors, and to put *Tekeli* and others that were there out of a condition of relapsing into them again, General *Heister* advanced with his Troops, with design to fight him, if he durst stand in his way. *Tekeli* had caused all the Avenues of his Castle to be secured, which being amongst Mountains,

tains, was easie to keep. This obliged *Heister* to demand Cannon and Foot, with whom he lay down before the Castle of *Kus*, where *Tekely* was shut up. During the first days of the Siege this Prince died of sickness, and left his Son in the hands of some of his Friends, who endeavoured to defend themselves vigorously, till after some days the Trenches being opened, the Garrison spake of capitulating and surrendred the place. Before they came to that, as the Siege was not at all regular, no more than the Fortifications of the Place; Young *Tekeli*, aged fifteen years, saved himself in the Night time, with *Barriguzzi*, *Petrozzi*, and some others. They retired into the Castle of *Licoma* where *Heister* immediately besieged them. A Bomb setting their Powder on fire they demanded a capitulation. Count *Paul Esterhafi*, Genral of the Kingdom, advanced to speak to them, but there was some treachery on one side or other, in this capitulation, since some shot with a Musket upon *Esterhafi*, and that he took *Baragozzi* Prisoner and sent him to *Vienna*. The others saved themselves once more in the Night, and without hindrance got into the Castle of *Hust* in *Transylvania*. That of *Licoma* surrendred it self the
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next day, and by its surrendry left the Imperialists absolute Masters of Upper Hungary. 'Twas thus that Count Tekeli, made his first Apprentiship at his own cost in the matter of War. All his moveables were seized, and all his Plate, and that of all the other Malecontents. They carried it to *Vienna*, as in Triumph, and this was not unseasonable for paying the German Troops, one part of what was due to them, without speaking of what might continue in the hands of those who were commissioned to go and seize the most considerable Riches of Hungary.

The End of the First Book.

Memoirs on the Life
Of *EMERIC* Count of
TEKELI.

The Second Book.

Containing the most Remarkable Occurrences from the Year 1671. to the Year 1685.

COUNT *TEKELI* being arrived at *Trarsylvania*, if we may believe the common report, immediately puts himself under the Protection of the *Turks*, and pays them the Tribute which they call the *Carche*, after which the *Emperor* could not pursue him, without running the hazard of breaking with the *Part*.

Abassi received the *Malecontents* very kindly, because he had cause to complain

plain of the *Imperial Troops* which were upon the Frontiers of *Transylvania*, and often made very great ravages upon his Lands. In the mean while he takes a journey to the *Port*, which joyned with some movements of the *Turkish Army* from *Thrace*, gave ground of fear that the *Grand Signior* would take part with the *Male-contents*, who, as was said, solicited him to send an Army into *Hungary*: But soon after it was known that the *Turks* had no design so hastily to engage in a War, which they could not make without great expence.

1672. The *Imperial Council* being delivered from this fear, and seeing that all who could resist the design which it had to treat *Hungary* as a conquered Countrey, were dead, or banished, or intimidated by the ill success of their Efforts, thought that now at last the time was come to execute this project. The first remarkable attempt, which was made for this, was the vacating the important charge of *Palatine*, which investing them who had it with a very great Authority, put them into a condition when they would to frustrate the designs which the *Ministers* at *Vienna* had upon the Liberry of the *Hungarians*.

If any one were disobliged by them,
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he could hardly fail of taking his revenge, at least of convicting them before Judges of the Countrey, of having violated the Laws of their Countrey, which it was not easie to do. As this dignity was for Life, the Death of him who was invested with it was peaceably to be expected ; or else it was to be forced from him ; an expedient dangerous, and likely to make the Kingdom revolt. Instead of the *Palatine*, the *Emperor* resolved to send a *Governour* whom he might recall when he pleased, and to whom he might give no authority but what he found fitting. He also formed a new *Sovereign Chamber*, composed of eight Counsellors, and of two Secretaries, besides the *President* who was to be the *Governour* of the Realm. *John Gasper Ampringhen*, *Great Master* of the *Teutonic Order*, was chosen to fill this last place ; whether it were that he was judged the most likely to acquit himself well of this employment, or that being born in *Hungary* the People might not look on him as a *Forreigner*. This was conceived within the Year 1672.

1673. In the Twenty Eighth of February, in the Year following, the *Emperor* Signed a Declaration, by which he gave his Subjects of *Hungary* to understand

derstand: 1. That he had established in their Countrey a *Sovereign Court* which should regulate Publick and Private Affairs in the last resort. 2. That he had chosen for *President* of this *Chamber*, *John Gasper Ampringhen*, *Prince* of the *Empire* and *Great Master* of the *Teutonick Order*; and would have them render him an entire Obedience as to his own Person, and also to the orders of the new Court. The *Great Master* made his entry on the twenty second of *March*, and immediately after, the *Chamber* applied it self to remedy the disorders of the Realm, which were very great. Ill meaning Persons on both sides having taken occasion from the troubles to commit all sorts of outrages. Two things gave the *Chamber* the most troubles, and in the end caused new broils. The first was the Regulation of the Troops which they were obliged to maintain in *Hungary*, rather against the *Malecontents*, than against the *Turks*. They found no way more proper to prevent the Insolence of the Souldiers, than to appoint *Commissaries* in every County who should furnish the Troops with all things necessary, and keep them within their Duty. The second was the *Protestant Religion* which they were resolved to extirpate whatever it cost

cost them. Besides that the Catholick-Zeal was satisfied with that, the *Ecclesiasticks* and *Laicks* found no burden of the Protestants goods which were Confiscated for very slight faults, that they might be obliged to change their Religion. "Many Calvinist and Lutheran Ministers, says an honest Priest, who writes the History of these Troubles in *Italian*; "since they would not moderate their Seditious Ardour to Preach new Doctrines, were sent to the Gallies of *Naples*, to learn Modesty and Obedience in Chains, &c. "The Rigor which they used to re-establish the Catholick Religion and in searching out them who adhear'd to Protestancy, gave many companions to them who had fled to *Transylvania*. The Protestants had in divers Languages published the Persecution, which they said had been in *Hungary* against them of their Religion. And the Ministers whom they had sent to the Gallies of *Naples* were not delivered till the Year 1676. By the mediation of *Michael de Ruyter*, Admiral to the *United Provinces*. The Zealous Catholicks who were offended at this, have seen by the consequences, what People so treated are capable of doing, and have repented a little too late.

Prince Ragotski died soon after his reconciliation with the *Imperial Court*, and the *Transylvanians* pushed on by the *Male-contents* who were retired among them, redemanded of the *Emperor* the Counties *Zathmar* and *Zambolich*. At the same time many Hungarian Gentlemen assembled their Friends together to oppose the Violences of the new *Sovereign Chamber*. They form a Body of 12000 Men, and surprize *Kalo* and *Little Waradin*, thro' the default of *General Spankau* and some other *Imperial Commanders* more fit to ruine and evil entreat the Peasants and disarmed *Burghers*, than to fight an Enemy, or take good measures against them.

The *Emperor* was obliged to send into *Hungary* 10000 Men under *General Kops*, whom the *Male-contents* fail'd not to resist in many Rencounters. As this was not a War of Quarter, they defended themselves desperately, and treated the Germans with the last Rigour, as they had been treated before. We will not enter into the detail of what pass'd on both sides, this belongs rather to a general History of *Hungary*, than to the Life of *Teckely*, who was then very young as to the Fatigues of the War. It is enough to have describ'd in general the condition which *Hungary* was then in,
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ruin'd by its Friends as well as by its Enemies, and brought in vain to wish under the best Catholics in *Europe* the repose which the Subjects and Vassals of Infidels enjoyed in their sight.

1674. From the year 1674. the *Turks*, who had been but spectators of these Troubles, or who since the Peace, had fomented them only under-hand, began more openly to side with the *Male-contents*. During the whole year there were divers Rencounters between the Troops of Neighbouring *Bassas* mingled with *Hungarian Fugitives*, and the *Imperial Garrisons*; wherein sometimes one side had the better, sometimes the other. It is not known whether the *Imperial Ministers* did not make these Confusions last the longer with design that they might the more easily profit themselves of the miseries of *Hungary*. At least they accuse *Prince Lobkovits* the *Emperors Chief Minister* of holding Intelligence with the *Male-contents*, and *Count Souches* was in disgrace for a like suspicion.

1675. For this or some other reason the *Imperial Court* thought fit to endeavour to bring the *Male-contents* to their duty by way of Treaty. *Abassi* being offer'd for a Mediator, gave hope of bringing the matter to a conclusion, but
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it was presently perceiv'd that there was no likelihood of pacifying *Hungary* so soon. In some Assemblies which were held for this end within that Realm and *Transylvania*, the *Male-contents* demanded a general Act of Indempnity with the re-establishment of their Priviledges, and of their Churches, and the reparation of their Losses, which was far from casting themselves upon the *Emperors* Clemency, and expecting what he would vouchsafe them of his bounty, as it had been expected from them. As they demanded possibly too much, they were offer'd too little, and it was so visible, that nothing was sought but to destroy them when they had laid down their Arms, and were return'd to their duty, that they rejected that proposal with scorn. Nevertheless the *Emperor* soon after publish'd an Amnesty for all them who should lay down their Arms, but few persons did so, and Declarations of this nature had been so frequently violated, when it could be with impunity, that to the misfortune of those who us'd them, no body believ'd them but when they were not in a condition to violate them. It was also in vain that the *Viceroy* promis'd the *Male-contents* to re-establish them in the possession of their goods, and to grant them the free exercise of their Religion,

Religion, upon taking a new Oath of Allegiance, and dismissing all their Troops. This promise could not move any body, because the *Viceroy* did not speak of re-establishing also the Priviledges of the Realm, and without that no body could submit without laying himself again at the discretion of the *Imperialists*; so both Parties continued to ravage *Hungary*.

Soon after *Abaffi* openly demanded the Counties of *Zathmar* and *Zambolich*, which he said had been yielded to him by *Ragotski*; and the *Emperor* having rejected this demand, the *Vaivode* took the Field with 12000 Men, beat *Spankan*, and laid Siege to *Zathmar*, yet he could not take this place, and all was at last reduced to bare Incurfions where the young *Tekely* began to make his Courage and Conduct appear. He was greatly beloved by *Abaffi*, who trusted him in an infinite number of things concerning both the Government of *Transylvania* and his other Designs. Thence it was not difficult to see that unless things extreamly changed their face, he would soon be the most considerable Head of the Party. At the same time the Garrison of *Newhausel*, and those of the Frontier Towns belonging to the *Turks*, began to make Incurfions very far into the Lands of the *Emperor*, and demanded Contributions throughout

throughout the whole Neighbourhood. The *Imperial Council* sent to make Complaints to the *Bassas*, but as it fear'd, lest it should irritate them, these Complaints not being supported with any vigour, nor with any disposition to revenge, if they should be slighted, the *Turks* had no regard to them. They had not been us'd to shew equity to them who evidenc'd a dread of them, and yet less to People from whom they pretended that they had receiv'd Injuries, as they complain'd that they had from the *Emperor*.

1676. Hostilities continuing on all sides Count *Strafaldo* surprizes *Debrezen* a Town Tributary to the *Turks*, and but a few Leagues distant from *Great Waradin*. The *Male-content*s often retired thither as to a place of security, and where they thought the *Imperialists* durst not touch them. And indeed though they were not displeased at *Vienna* with the Action of *Strafaldo*, they fail'd not to disavow it, through fear of entring into a new War with the *Turks*, who threatned to break with them for that. The *Transylvanians* being farther exasperated, and the *Turks* always having the disadvantage in all their Parties which they sent out to fight, they seem'd disposed to joyn together, and vigorously to support the *Male-contentents*.

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To appease them on the *Emperors* side, Incursions upon the Lands of the Turks were prohibited; but the last did not discontinue their Incursions, altho' the *Emperor* had sent an Express to *Constantinople*, to know the intention of the *Grand Signior*, who gave him no very clear answer.

The *Male-contents* did not act with less vigor, nor made war worse, by great Parties which they sent on all sides, and which often beat the *Germans*, altho they had a considerable Army in a Body. It often not being known where they were, or what place they came to attack, it was equally difficult to prevent them, or to make defence against their enterprizes.

1677. The Year 1677. was not more fortunate for the *Imperial Court* than the precedent, altho it began with the *Count Baragozzies* offers to the *Male-contents* to forget what was past, to restore them to the possession of their goods, to give them in every County one *Calvinist* and one *Lutherian Church*, and to receive them into all Offices within the Realm, without having regard to their Religion. Fifteen hundred persons accepted these terms, but the rest would not hear speak of them; because there always was in these offers
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essential defects which was remediless, which was that sufficient assurances were not given the *Male-contents*, that they should not be broken. The *Emperor* encreases the number of his Troops, and sends several Generals under the command of *Kops*: But the *Male-contents* succoured by the *Transylvanians* form a Body of more than twenty thousand men, commanded by *Vladislaus Wesselini*, Son of the Deceased *Palatine*.

It happened also that the *Poles* having made a Peace with the *Turks*, good part of their disbanded Troops came to joyn the banished *Hungarians* led by *Count Boham*. This General at the same time gain'd a Signal Victory over *General Smith*, whom he entirely defeated, altho he was stronger than himself.

When all the Forces were joyned they were in a condition to make Head against the *Imperialists* and to incommode them by seizing the better part of their Convo's. Understanding also that the *Imperialists* were not paid they found means of debauching a considerable number of the *Hungarians* who were in the *Emperors* service, by promising them more pay than they had in the *Imperial Army*. *Kops* incensed at this desertion, and unadvisedly imagin-

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ing by that means to discourage the *Hungarian* Rebels, caused all the Prisoners which he had taken in divers Rencontres to be slain. He contented not himself with having them strangled, but caused several to be empal'd. *Wesselini* did not fail to treat the Prisoners which he had in the same manner among whom there were several Officers of note. This Brutal manner of making War having lasted some time, the Council at *Vienna* censur'd *Kops* for beginning it, and forbad the doing so any more, for fear of driving the *Hungarians* to despair, instead of making them lay down their Arms; and of wanting Officers and Soldiers to serve in so cruel a War. These Orders were extreamly necessary for the *Imperial General*, who having more cruelty than conduct, made continual Losses, and saw his Army daily diminish for want of provisions. At that time *Count Tekely* came from *Transylvania* to the Camp of the *Male-contents* at the Head of 2000 Men, and in his way took the Town of *Nagibania*, abandon'd by the *Imperialists*. But the *Imperial Army* having retaken it, after his departure *Wesselini* retook it, and put in it a Garrison of 1500 Men, this place deserving to be taken care of by reason of the Mines of Gold which are there.

1678. At the beginning of the year 1678. the *Council* at *Vienna* offer'd the *Hungarians* three Churches in the *Upper Hungary*, and some other things, endeavouring to appease them: But these offers were receiv'd as the former. The *Turks* no more regarded the Complaints made them of their suffering the *Male-contents* to retire on to their Lands. The *Bassaes* answered very roughly, and *Hoffman* the *Emperors* Secretary being come to *Constantinople*, was not more favourably receiv'd by the *Grand Visier*. In the mean while the *Male-contents* supported by *Abassi*, whom they had profitably assisted against an unquiet Person call'd *Pedipold*, who endeavour'd to make himself Master of *Transylvania*, took the Field, and instead of *General Kops*, they were opposed by *Count Wormb*, whose disposition being more mild, was fitter to sweeten spirits exasperated by the Cruelties of his Predecessor.

Seeing that however the *Male-contents* did not return to their duty, they debated in the Assembly of States held at *Bedemburg*, about restoring to the *Protestants* all the Churches which had been taken from them throughout *Hungary*. The *Catholick Hungarians* believed also, as well as the *Protestants*, that the change which had been made in the form of the

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Government, was so great an obstacle to the tranquillity of the Kingdom, that if the Antient Usages were not re-establish'd, there would never be Peace. Some *Hungarian Lords* went to represent to the *Emperor* the result of what had been treated of among the *States*, and which were reduced in substance to what I have been saying. But the *Imperial Ministers* made so great difficulties upon each of the two Articles, that it was well seen that nothing but force could oblige them to put matters upon the same foot on which they formerly stood.

The *Male-contents* were not yet in a condition to force them, being divided among themselves about a Chief Commander. The *Count Wesselini*, the *Palatine's* Brother, who till then had had the command of the Principal Troops, which his Nephew commanded but under him, being dead, the greater part of the *Male-contents* would put *Count Tekely* in his place, and in the end he carried it against the young *Wesselini*. He had commanded the Body of *Transylvanian* Troops which *Abaffi* had sent the *Male-contents*, and besides had acquired much reputation. As soon as he was chosen *Generalissimo*, he took a review of his Troops, and found that they were 12000 Men, besides some others which *Tekely* his kinsman brought out

out of *Transylvania*. He had also some Artillery, and found himself indifferently furnish'd with the most necessary provisions. In this condition he enter'd *Upper Hungary*, and drew near to *Montgats*, with intent to enter into some conference with *Ragotski's* Widdow Daughter of *Count Serini*. But this was in vain, because her Mother-in-law hinder'd it, and sent some Troops to beat up the Quarters of *Teckely*, which were entirely defeated. A Son of *Count Serini*, Brother to *Prince Ragotski*, who commanded a Party, was made Prisoner in this Action, and after serv'd *Teckely* to settle that Commerce which he desired. These beginnings, and a considerable succour of *Tartars*, which this General receiv'd at that time, gave the *Emperor* fear. This Prince immediately renew'd the offers which he had made the *Male-contents*, and *Teckely* on his side pretended to enter into a Treaty, and in the mean while pillaged some Towns upon the Mountains, and among others *Missakuesca*. About the same time he surprises a Courier, who went to the *Port* with Instructions for *Hoffman*, who had been commanded to endeavour the re-establishment of *Pedipold* which he could not effect. These Papers help'd them to take better measures than they had done, for

many matters of importance, and *Hoffman* returning to *Vienna* soon after confirm'd the *Imperial Court* in the suspicion it had, that the *Turks* sought an occasion to break with it.

The *Imperial Army* commanded by *Count Wormb*, and after his being recall'd, (which they say was for his ill Conduct) by *Count Leslie*, finding it self much weaker than that of the *Male-contents*, contented it self to keep advantageously intrenched, to traverse their designs, without daring to come to a Battle, to which *Teckely* endeavour'd to draw them. It was not only inferiour in number to the *Counts*, but also in no condition to do any thing vigorously, because it was not paid, and it was difficult to make it subsist at the charge of the *Hungarians*. *Count Saros* then came in to *Teckely*. *Torna* an head Town, having another depending on it, also yielded to him, and several other small places did the like. The Cittadel of *Torna*, which a party of *Germans* made themselves Masters of in the absence of *Teckely*, was retaken a second time, by the help of *Hungarians* who had staid there, and who drove out the *German Garrison*. The *Imperial Army* encamped under *Eperies* upon the River *Tareza*, made no movement, and but weakly incommoded the March of the
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the *Male-contents*, although they had been reforc'd with some Regiments which had much ado, to joyn them. *Tekely* profiting of this occasion, caus'd it to be publish'd throughout *Hungary*, that he had no design but to re-establish the Kingdom in its Antient Priviledges, and by a *Manifesto* exhorted all true Hungarians to joyn and help him to deliver their Countrey from the Miseries which it suffer'd by the attempts of the *Germans*, who sought only to enslave them. He threatned to treat as Enemies, not only those who favour'd the Forreigners, but also those who pretended to stand neuter. These Threats joyned to Truths disadvantageous to the *Germans*, and of which *Hungary* was but too much convinced, had considerable Effect, and much encreas'd his Army, which was twenty thousand strong in the month of *August*. Then it was that he attacked *Eperies*, while *Count Wormb* was gone to receive some Troops from *Silesia*. He carried it in three days, tho' it was one of the most important places of *Upper Hungary*, and went on towards the end of *September*, to seize all that is near *Mount Crapach*. He took the Town of *Rosemberg* by Assault, and set fire to the Castle, where 200 Souldiers of *Strafolds*'s Regiment perished. From thence

he sent about 2000 *Tartars*, who took and pillaged *Newstadt*, pass'd the *Waag* at *Trentschin* in spite of the *Imperialists*, and made great Ravages in *Moravia*.

After that the *Male-contents* returned on the sides of *Transylvania*, that they might not leave it open to the *Imperialist's*, *Tekely* staid at *Nagibania* and at the Castle of *Kivar*, with the Infantry and Cannon, expecting some *Transylvanian* Troops who were to joyn him. *Tekely* with the *Hungarian Cavalry*, and *Boham* at the head of the *Polish* parted from thence to go find out the *Imperial Army*, with a design to come upon them on-awares but found that *Count Losly* advertised of their march had divided his Forces into three Bodies.

One of these Bodies went a great way from the others to avoid fighting, but *Tekely* made them be followed by some Squadrons who overtook them near *Leutsch*, and entirely defeated them, while *Boham* cut in pieces the second, and himself defeated the third, so that the whole *Imperial Army* was put to the rout. One Party was sav'd in the Castle of *Rosemberg*, which had been abandoned, but they were soon taken and put to the Sword. From thence a Detachment was sent to support the *Tartars*, who ravaged *Moravia*, and on the other side *Colonel Josuah*

Josuah a Monk, who had forsaken his Habit, and turn'd *Protestant*, enters *Austria* with Troops, which he had gathered together in *Hungary* full of ruin'd Families, who not knowing how to subsist, followed the first, who presented himself to them, to make a little War. Although these Incursions much incommoded the *Hereditary Countries*, they not retaining any place, and contenting themselves with only pillaging, did nothing diverse, which might put the *Male-contents* into a condition to be settled Masters of *Hungary*, or hinder the *Emperor* from entering it. The *Hungarians* wanted the Art of fortifying Towns, and the means of providing them with what was necessary for a long resistance, so that it was more easie to take them, than to keep them. Nor were they more in a condition always to keep on foot an Army equally strong, which might cover the Frontiers of the places they conquer'd, and they as well wanted Discipline as Money; so that the War was more like a tumultuous Robbing than a War manag'd with prudence, or sustained by the Forces of a well-order'd State, and by a disciplin'd Army. The *Imperialists* acted with better order, and were provided with better means for keeping what they had, but yet they often wanted Money,

and *Hungary* ruin'd by both sides, could not longer alone make their Armies subsist. This was the reason that matters went on very slowly, and that they were not in the Field early enough, and late enough to oppose the Incursions of the *Male-contents*.

In the mean while the Towns on the Mountains openly favour'd *Tekely*, and had almost all been his, if he had known how to keep them. *Alsol*, which had submitted to him, was no sooner abandoned, but the *Imperialists* put in a Garrison which he was obliged to attack. He carried it in few days by scaling the Walls, and soon after *Newsole*, which passes for the Capital of the Mountains, *Chemnitz*, *Bolsenaw*, and *Libnia* fell into his hands through the weakness of the *Imperial Garrisons* which were in them. The *Emperors* Army commanded by *Count Wormb*, not being in a condition to give Battel to *Tekely*, and the progress of the *Male-contents* frightening the Council at *Vienna*, they came again to a Treaty, which had no success. *Tekely* and his Party were solicited to name what they desired of the *Emperor*, with promise that whatever was equitable should be granted them. Thereupon they answer'd very warmly, that they did not believe that any thing which they should demand

mand would be refus'd, and if it should be, they would give up to the *Turks* all the Towns which they had taken. They would have the *Emperor* expel from *Hungary* all the *Church-men* whom they should name; that he should grant them in due form an *Amnesty* for all that was pass'd, that he should give the *Protestants* the free exercise of their Religion, that he should restore to the possession of their goods all them who had been dispossest, that he should permit the *Dyet* to chuse a *Palatine* of their Nation, and to set on foot again the first form of Government. In fine, that he should give the *Male-contents* security for the observation of the Articles. No other answer was made by the *Emperor* to these Propositions, than that they should be communicated to the *Dyet* of *Hungary*, and hanging this Treaty, so good a number of Troops was sent to *Count Wormb*, that he resolv'd to go to attacque *Teckely* and *Boham*. He found them near *Alsot*, and on their side prepared to fight. They fell to blows at break of day, and the Fight lasted till three hours after Noon. At that time the *Imperialists* having receiv'd a Reinforcement, and the *Male-contents* beginning to give ground, *Teckely* and *Boham* caus'd a Retreat to be sounded, and retired without disorder under the

Cannon of *Alsol*. The *Imperialists* endeavoured to intercept them by taking a shorter way cross the Mountain, but that Pass was so vigorously defended by a Regiment of Cavalry which the *Malecontents* had placed there, that the *Imperialists* retired with much loss.

The next day *Teckely* having receiv'd a recruit of 1000 Men, marched again to oppose the *Imperial* Army, and took the Corn almost in the view of the Town of *Bustroc*, the Garrison of which had made some discharges of Cannon upon his Avant Guard. After that, the season being far advanc'd, he made a Truce for some months with the *Imperial General*, who was upon withdrawing within few days, and putting the Army again under *Count Leslie*. Who came to it about the end of *November*, and having had some difference with *Count Woarmb*, he declared that he would not observe the Truce which that *General* had concluded with the *Male-contents*, but the precise Orders which came to him from *Vienna*, obliged him to keep it. The *Imperial Court* also thought it self obliged to give *Teckely* leave to lodge his Troops in *Upper Hungary*, possibly because it was not in a condition to hinder him, or, as others held, that it might make some accommodation with him. *Teckely*, *Palassi*, *Imbre*, and

and *Boham* took their Quarters at *Debrezen*, *Wesselini* at *Nagibania*, *Filek* and *Harak*. *Teckely* took a Journey to *Transylvania* to preserve *Abassi* in the good sentiments which he had towards the *Male-contents*, and to come to a closer Treaty with the *Port*, which had given him hopes of Succours. A little before the *Princess Ragotski* had endeavoured to corrupt *Teckely*, by offering him one of her Daughters in Marriage, and making him other considerable promises if he would quit the party of the *Male-contents*. He did not reject these Proposals, which being discovered to some persons, he became suspected by the other Leaders. The very Troops which he commanded refused to obey him any longer, and put themselves under *Wesselini*, who quartered them in the County of *Zathmar* and its Neighbourhood.

1679. The *Emperor* who had been engaged in a War with *France* ever since the year 1673. and obliged to employ good part of his Troops for the defence of the *Empire*, being near concluding a Peace with *France*, found himself in a condition to speak more haughtily to the *Male-contents*; believing that he had put a division among the *Leaders*, by rendring *Teckely* suspected, and being able to dispose of a greater number of
Troops,

Troops, he demanded of the *Male-contents*, that before entring into a Treaty they would send home all the Auxiliary Forces which they had, and promised to have regard to their Complaints, but they took care not to fall into so gross a snare. It soon after appeared that he would not grant them any thing, for that he ever pretended to govern the Kingdom by a *Viceroy*, & not to give the *Protestants* any Churches but in Villages.

The Truce being ended there was no speaking of either side of renewing it, and action began in the middle of Winter. *Tekeli* who had spoken of an accommodation and who would have his Estate restored, found himself but abused in these hopes. These very goods which were worth more than two Millions, being in the hands of some persons who were in credit at the Court of *Vienna* hindered him from forsaking the party in which he had been engaged. This is not the first time that they have rendred those suspected, whom they would have destroyed, by pretending that they would restore what they had taken away. They had no design but to ruine for ever the *Nobility* of *Hungary*, who were concerned in the Revolt, and by no means to let them have wherewith to live in Peace. *Tekeli*

Teckely did not fail to be revenged of this policy, and the *Male-contents* understanding how he was used confided in him more than ever. He seized on *Chemnitz* a Town on the Mountains which the *Male-contents* had had, and which they knew not how to keep: and made Incursions which much incommoded the *Imperialists*. The same was done on all sides, and the Army of the *Male-contents* although deprived of the *Polish* succours was Master of the Field, by reason of the sickness of *Count Lesly* and the weakness of the Imperial Army. The Plague which was in *Hungary* and in *Austria* abated the Efforts of both parties, and at the same time broke off some Treaties which had been begun; where the *Emperor* appear'd disposed at last to yield to the *Male-contents* the greatest part of their demands. This misfortune was herein advantageous; that the *Imperialists* were in no condition to profit of their divisions. *Wesselini* the *Palatines* Son had commanded the Army while *Teckely* had been in *Transylvania*, and pretended to command it till the end of the Campagne after the arrival of the other, who came at the beginning of *October*, with a recruit of four thousand men. *Teckely* maintained that having been chosen
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Chief in his absence which had been for the good of the Party, he ought not to deprive him of the command. *Wesfelini* said that he being in possession no body ought to dispute the rank which he held. This difference so heated their Spirits, that the Army being divided between them came to blows; *Tekeli* had the advantage, and having taken his Competitor Prisoner, contented himself to send him to *Clausembourg* in *Transylvania*. The Campagne ended without any thing considerable done, only that they agreed on a suspension of Arms which was to continue till the end of *April*, in the ensuing Year.

1680. While the Armies were in Winter Quarters, *Count Lefly* being troubled with the Gout, went to *Prague*, where the *Emperor* was by reason of the Plague which ravaged *Austria*. The frequent illness of the *General* did not permit him to command the Army any longer, *Count Caprara* was sent in his place. He arrived at the very time of great disorders in the Army which not being paid was daily diminished by desertions. Two Regiments mutinied, and since there was nothing but words to give them instead of money they went over to the Enemy, which occasioned money to be speedily sent, lest the rest of the

the Army should follow their example. The *Male contents* might have profited themselves of this conjuncture if they had had a little more mony, and if they had been as able in matters of State as they were for making Incurfions.

Teckely was accused of having intend-
ed quite another thing than the advancement of the common good of this Party. It was said that he askt leave of the *Emperor* to marry the Widdow of *Prince Ragotski*, and that he offered to turn Catholick, and to enter into the *Emperors* Party if he would restore him his Estate. The *Emperor* who feared that he should make him too powerful by this Marriage, especially if at the same time he should restore him his Estate in the same condition it had been in before the Troubles; or else being resolved never to restore his Estate to him; haughtily rejected his proposals. Thereupon, however it had been at other times, in the *Dyet* which was held at *Tirnam*, to break all measures which might be taken to bring in the generality of the *Male contents*, incapable of distinguishing the snares laid for them from an honest Treaty or Stratagem of War, *Teckely* declared that he would make no Treaty without leave of the *Port*. This put the *Emperor* into a fright, wherefore he sent
to

to *Constantinople* to know whether the *Turks* were so engaged with the *Male-contents* as these would have it believed. In the mean while the Truce ends, and notwithstanding the apparent Negotiations for an Accommodation, Hostilities began again by divers Incursions, where the *Male-contents*, much better Party-Men than the *Imperialists*, carried several advantages over them.

Teckely soon after invested *Zathmar*, but after having blocked it up for some time, he was obliged to leave it, and to divide his Army into three Bodies, one of which he commanded, and the other two had for Heads *Petrozzi* and *Palassi Imbre*. They endeavoured to enter upon the *Emperors* Territories by different ways, and were repulsed in some Encounters, as they had the better in others, without coming to any decision. It is said, that in some Standards of the *Male-*

*Comes Tekeli qui
pro Deo & Patria
pugnat.*

contents, which the *Imperialists* gained, there were these words, "Count *Te-*
" *keli*, who fights for God

" and his Countrey.

In the Month of *September* this Count entred into *Kersmark*, a Town dependant upon his Family, and obliged the Inhabitants to take an Oath of Fidelity to him. He also took *Leischaw*, which the

the *Imperialists* in vain endeavour'd to relieve ; the Detachment which they had sent, being beaten. After that, he put his Troops into Winter Quarters ; and the *Imperialists* did the same. The Negotiations which had been begun, and so often broken off, were again set on foot, but the Plague which spread very much in *Hungary*, interrupted the Progress, and suffer'd not the *Diet* to be assembled, in which alone an Accommodation could be treated of with any Effect. This oblig'd them to make a Truce for some Months, which however tended to no purpose.

1681. The *Protestants* demanded, that their Churches should be re-established, and that their Schools should be restor'd, with all their Foundations, in the Condition in which they had been left. The Wishes of all the *Hungarian* Nation, concurr'd for having a *Palatine* as before, and who was of their Nation. It demanded also, as it had always done, that the *German* Garrisons should be withdrawn, or that they might have *Hungarian* Chiefs given them, who might hinder those Disorders which they daily committed with Impunity. The *Malecontents* sent to the *Emperor* some *Deputies*, who were to confer with his Ministers at *Presburgh*, while they expected

expected the Assembly of the *Diet* at *Pedemburg*, which was to be on the Fourth of *February*. In the mean while, there was an attempt to seize *Tekeli* at a Country-House where he was with a small Company, a long time before the Truce expir'd. But he being advertiz'd of it, went to expect them who had laid this Design, in a place through which they were to pass, and cut them in pieces. Although he pretended after that Accident to be always dispos'd for an Accommodation, it was too easie for him to see that they only sought to surprize him, for him to give Credit to the Proposals which were made him. The *Emperor*, who would have his Son a recogniz'd King of *Hungary*, to facilitate this Design, began in appearance much to abate of his rigour, and to yield to the greatest part of the Articles, but at the same time he would have the bare Declaration that he would place the Crown of *Hungary* on his Son to be sufficient, without the Interposition of the *States*. It was replied, That the Kingdom having ever to that time been *Elective*, it was fit that the *Arch-Duke* should go through the ancient Formalities, and this was likely to break off all the Negotiations. The *Diet* being put off to the Month of *April*, the *Emperor* advanc'd
as

as far as *Neustad*, that he might be the nearer, and might more readily end the differences which might arise. The *Malecontents* had notice to send their *Deputies*, but they made Difficulties of coming presently, because the *Emperor* had brought some Regiments with him for the Security of his Person. At the same time, *Tekeli* receiv'd a *Chiaous* from the *Grand Seignior*; by whom it was said, That the *Port* assur'd him of its Protection, provided he would not enter into any Accommodation. It was said also, That he shew'd one of the *Emperor's* Agents a Letter, wherein *Abassi* by Order of the *Port*, promis'd him very great Advantages, if he would continue the War; and that the Count told the Agent, that not being able to agree with the *Emperor*, without running the risque of losing the Lands which he had in *Transylvania* if he should come to a Conclusion, in that case it would be but just that they should make up his loss. This the *Emperor's* Agent thought a notable difficulty, and his Estate being considerable, there was no probability that there was any intention of rendring *Tekeli* the Value of it. On the other side, the Clergy of *Hungary*, being appris'd that the *Emperor* was dispos'd to restore to the *Protestants* their Churches & Schools,
sent

sent *Deputies* to him, to represent what Injury he would do the Catholick Religion, if he should thus serve it. As some thought, these Remonstrances hinder'd the *Emperor* from Executing the Design which he had form'd in the end, to grant the *Protestants* a Demand they had so long since made: But according to others, the appearance of a disposition to grant them being but a Feint, the *Emperor* himself caus'd this *Deputation* from the Clergy of *Hungary*, to lay upon them the hatred which a too obstinate refusal, might draw upon the Court at *Vienna*; and that the *Protestants* might believe, that of it self it was not ill-dispos'd towards them, since the *Emperor* did nothing of this, without first communicating it to his *Confessor*, Father *Emerics*, soon after Archbishop of *Vienna*; many people found it difficult to believe that this new Dignity had made him give his consent to the treating the *Protestants* better.

The *Diet* being open'd, the *Emperor* came to *Bedembourg*; and at last, after many difficulties, they were to come to the Election of a *Palatine*, and to restore the Government to its ancient Form. The *Great Master* of the *Teutonic Order*, who had been *Viceroy*, had done nothing but exasperated their Spirits, and spoil'd all.

all the Affairs ; being neither a Man of the *Cabinet*, nor of the War. The *Diet* nam'd some Lords and presented them to the *Emperor*, who chose Count *Paul Esterhazy* ; after which, he return'd to *Newstadt*, when the new *Palatine* had taken the Oath of Allegiance to him.

The next day a Courier brought a Letter sign'd by *Tekeli* and Six of the most considerable of the *Malecontents* ; in which they declar'd, That they were ready to accept the *Amnesty*, Provided some Articles might be granted them ; the greatest part of which were the same which they had demanded before. There was One new one which was the Cause that this Letter had no Effect, which is, that they demanded a Sum of Money to be Paid the *Turks* which they had promis'd. This Letter being sent the *Emperor*, he wholly rejected the last Article, and from that time Hostilities began again in the usual manner by Incursions. Nevertheless, the *Diet* propos'd to *Tekeli* a continuance of the Suspension of Arms, which he promis'd to observe, provided, that Count *Caprara* observ'd it on his side, and that care were taken as soon as possibly to cover the *Protestants* from the vexatious Wars they had been expos'd to that time, by giving them the free exercise of their Religion.

Religion. The *Diet* sent Deputies to the *Emperor*, to represent to him the Necessity he was under to yield this Article; and farther, to pray him to turn out of Employment all them who had labour'd to have the Form of the Government of *Hungary* chang'd, and caus'd the Troubles by violating the Laws of the Realm. As these had done nothing but by Order of the Court at *Vienna*, and with its Approbation, this Demand appear'd too hardy: The *Emperor* took time to answer it, nor would then consent to grant freedom of Religion, although he before seem'd sufficiently inclin'd to satisfy the *Protestants* therein.

It is said, that the *Grand Seignior* being advertis'd of the disposition *Tekeli* was in to agree with the *Emperor*, sent him a *Bassa*, who promis'd him the Principality of *Transylvania* after the Death of *Abassi*, and other Advantages to the *Malecontents*, if they would put what they held in *Hungary*, and what they should take, under the Protection of the *Port*; and that they consented and promis'd to Pay a Tribute of Eighty thousand Crowns, provided it assisted them with a Speedy and Powerful Supply

The *Diet*, who fear'd as much as the
Emperor

Emperor, lest the *Turks* who had newly made a Truce for Twenty Years with the *Moscovites*, should enter *Hungary* with all their Forces; hastened to conclude something which might satisfy the *Malecontents*.

Endeavours at the same time were us'd to draw *Tekeli* to come to the Diet, by offering him the Sons of the *Palatine* as Hostages; but he absolutely refus'd to go, fearing Treachery. In fine it was concluded, with the consent of the *Emperor*, that the *Protestants* should have those Churches restor'd which they had built at their own Charges, but not the Churches which they had taken from the *Catholicks*; with liberty to build Three more new ones, and to have Preaching as before. They also engaged to Pay once for all a certain Sum to the *Turks*, in lieu of a yearly Tribute, upon condition that they lengthned out the Truce of the Year 1664. for Twenty Years. In *July*, these Conclusions were communicated to *Tekely*, who kept firm to what he had demanded. He would have all places whatever where the *Protestants* had had Preachings, to be absolutely restor'd; and that the promis'd Tribute should be Paid which the *Malecontents* could not deny, because the *Turks* had their Wives and Children in Hostage,

Hostage. Although this was no bad Reason, there was another not men-

The Inconvenience of breaking Faith.

tioned, which was yet more forcible. Which is that after what had pass'd, it was no more possible for the *Malecontents* to trust to any Treaty, being strongly perswaded that the destroying them would never be scrupled when it could be done with security. Where Sovereign Princes think they have right to violate all sorts of Treaties with their Subjects, nothing but a Foreign Protection, and that interested in their Preservation, can assure those who have once taken Arms against them. Therefore the *Malecontents* could not hope to be restor'd to their Countrey under the Government of the House of *Austria*, but by rendring the Kingdom of *Hungary* Tributary to the *Turks*, who would find themselves engaged to support those who had render'd them this important Service.

And from that time, the *Turks* began to make great Preparations, and the report ran, that they would go Succour *Tekeli* with 20000 Men, who joyn'd to the *Hungarians* and *Transylvanians*, might put them into a condition to Conquer all *Hungary*. This oblig'd Count *Caprara*

to draw nearer to *Tekeli*, to observe his March, and hinder him from joyn'g the *Turks*. This report appear'd false, at least for that Year, and all was reduc'd to Incurfions and Pillages, like to those of former Years. *Tekeli* took *Besmerin*, *Little Waradin* and *Kaloz*; but rather to Sack, than keep them.

Soon after *Abaffi*, who always had Pretensions upon the County of *Zathmar*, joyn'd *Tekeli* with an Army of *Transylvanians*, and with him undertook the Siege of *Zathmar*. Their Army being 30000 strong, Count *Caprara* was in no Condition to attack them with his much Inferior in Number. All that he could do was to seize the Passes, to hinder the Enemies from proceeding to attack the Towns on the Mountains, or to cast themselves on any other side upon the *Emperor's* Lands. However *Tekeli* nimble pass'd the *Tibisque* with a Detachment of 5000 Men, while *Abaffi* continued the Siege. With this Body *Tekeli* exacted very great Contributions from divers places, for permitting the *Hungarians* to gather their Vintages. *Abaffi* in a little time makes himself Master of the Town; but having found more resistance from the Cittadel than he expected, he at last rais'd the Siege, and contented himself with Pillaging se-

veral Villages about *Samos*; some believ'd that he had rais'd this Siege, because the *Grand Seignior* had sent him word that he intended that place as soon as they were Masters of it should be put into the hand of a *Bassa* who assisted *Abaffi*. Others said, that it proceeded from a misunderstanding between the *Transylvanians* and *Hungarians*; and that this was the cause of raising the Siege. The worst which hapned to them was, that some *German* Troops coming up to *Abaffi's* Army, which expected no such thing, put it into disorder, and took all their Booty. After which, they pursued it even into *Transylvania*, and made more waste than that had done in *Hungary*.

The Campagne ended as the preceding Years, with a Suspension of Arms for some Months, and *Tekeli* was permitted to put his Troops into Winter-Quarters within Four Counties on the other side of the *Tibisq*; At last the *Diet* settled the Article concerning Religion, which contain'd these following Heads:

1. That the Free-Towns and all Estates depending immediately on the Crown, should enjoy Liberty of Conscience.

2. That they should have a Free Exercise of their Religion, yet without

out injuring the Rights of particular Lords.

3. That the *Hungarian* Soldiers, which should be in Garrison upon the Frontiers, should enjoy the same Liberty.

4. That the Priests and Ministers should keep Possession of the places of which they were seiz'd. without the one sorts driving out the other.

5. That it shall be permitted the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* to build two Churches; one for one Communion, and the other for the other, in the Counties which had none.

6. Lords and Gentlemen should be permitted to build Chappels in their Castles, and to have the Exercise of their Religion.

7. That the *Catholicks* should have the free Exercise of their Religion throughout the Realm.

8. That the *Lutherans* of *Presbourg* should be permitted to build a Church in a place which should be appointed them.

9. That the Differences which might arise concerning Religion, should be judged by the King.

10. That it should be forbidden upon pain of the King's displeasure to all Persons whatsoever, to speak ill of the

Religions tolerated, and to injure those who profess'd them.

The *Protestants* were not entirely satisfi'd with that Article, but it must pass for that time; and the *Emperor* to sweeten the People, restor'd the Confiscated Goods which had not been dispos'd of to those who could pretend to them, by the Death or Absence of the Possessors. He also gave Gratifications to divers *Hungarian Lords*, and outed from their Charges some Persons who were not acceptable to the *Hungarian Nation*. All this was made known to *Tekeli*, who would abate nothing of what he had demanded manifestly.

1682. The *Turks* were dispos'd for great Enterprize, and there was no doubt but it was for *Hungary*; though they did not yet say so. The *Emperor* resolv'd to send Count *Albert Caprara* the General's Brother to *Constantinople*, to endeavour to divert this Tempest, by offering the Port the Counties of *Zathmar* & *Ziptow*. He departed the 7th of *February*, & arriv'd at *Constantinople* the 11th of *April*; But he might as he went perceive that his Journey would be to no purpose; for beyond *Belgrade* he met an Agent for *Tekeli*, who told some of the *Envoy's* Followers, that they went to *Constantinople* too late; and that his Master

ster had already taken all his Measures. In truth, all the Negotiations of Count *Caprara* came to nothing; and some have said, that the *Port* had declared before, that it intended to put *Hungary* upon the same foot with *Transylvania*, and to make a *Vaivode* of Count *Teckely*, who should pay a yearly Tribute.

In the mean while the Truce being ready to expire, it was agreed on both sides that it should be prolong'd till the first of *July*, yet they ceased not to make incursions on both sides. And the *Malecontents* seized the Corn which the *Emperor* had caused to be bought in *Poland* for the subsistence of the Army in *Hungary*. The *Emperor* having received advice from *Constantinople* that the *Turks* gathered Troops together from all parts of their Empire, and that they were well disposed in favour of *Tekeli*, who might be of great use to them for the conquest of *Hungary*; resolved at last to offer him all his Estate, and to suffer him to marry the Widdow of Prince *Ragorski*: But *Tekely* made a mock at this forced offer, believing himself in a condition to do what he desired in a manner much more sure by the help of the *Turks*.

He soon after came to *Buda* with a Body of Cavalry of three thousand men,

and had a conference with the *Bassa* who received him magnificently, by the *Grand Signiors* order. They took measures together for the *Campagne* which was upon the beginning, and effects of their interview were soon seen. But before the opening of the *Campagne*, he understood that the Princess *Ragotski* whom he had long sought was ready to receive him at *Mongats*, and to marry him when he would. Besides she could entirely dispose of that place, and of her own Person, because her Mother-in-Law being dead she remained Guardian to a Daughter which she had by Prince *Ragotski*. It was said that this Lady could never pardon the *Emperor* the death of her Father and Mother, and that this reason was none of the least which engaged her to give her hand to a Lord that appeared an irreconcilable enemy to the Court at *Vienna*. The marriage being celebrated *Tekely* put Garrisons into all places which depended on the house of *Ragotski*. New Efforts were made to gain him: They feigned as if at the very first they had consented to his marriage, and sent him his Brother-in-Law the Young Count *Serini* whom they had permitted to take the Title of his House, and to whom they made great promises if he could bring

bring *Tekeli* to some accommodation. But *Count Serini* who had no more forgotten the death of his Father and Mother let himself be gained and promised his Brother-in-Law to favour him in all he could.

As soon as the Truce was expired a Body of *Tartars* whom the *Turks* had caused to come, made Incurfion as far as *Trenschin*, and carried away a great number of People, which they carryed into the Lands of the *Turks* to sell. *Tekeli* on his fide with an Army made up of *Male-contents* and *Turks* feigned as if he would march to *Cassovie*, but coming on a sudden before *Zathmar* he surprized the Cittadel, and turned out the Garrison, which consisted of but fourscore men. From thence having begun to Cannonade the Town he obliged it to surrender in few days. *Count Strafoldo* with all possible speed drew together some Troops to relieve it as soon he had advice that the Cittadel had been surprized, but he could not come in time. The Court at *Vienna* affrighted at the loss of a place which had more than once resisted Armies of the *Transylvanians* and *Malecontents*, sent new Troops into *Hungary* with Ammunition and Provisions, and *Count Staremborg*, to take the command of the whole

Army instead of *Caprara* who was indisposed. *Zathmar* fell again the same year into the hands of the *Imperialists*, through the neglect of the *Male-contents* *Tekeli* marched also to *Cassovie*, which he thought to surprize through an intelligence which he had within the Castle. But this blow failing, because he with whom he had the intelligence, was discover'd, he resolv'd to attacque the place in form, and presently invested it with 12000 Men, who were soon reinforc'd with a supply, which made his Army more than twice as strong. He took it the 14th of *August*, after the Trenches had been opened three days, and constrain'd the Garrison, which at first had answered fiercely enough, to surrender at discretion. *Teckely* gave it liberty to retire without Arms whither it would. About 400 chose to go out, the rest put themselves under the service of the *Count*, but a Mine having sprung after that, and kill'd some of *Teckeley's* Soldiers, of which no notice had been given by *Colonel Lamb*, who commanded in the place, the 400 who would have gone out, were put to the Sword, and the Governour was detained Prisoner. *Teckely* for fifty thousand Crowns preserv'd the Town from being pillaged.

After having put in a Garrison, the

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Male-contents joyned with a considerable Body of Turkish Troops commanded by the *Bassa* of *Buda*, marched together to *Eperies*, which yielded without resistance, and was soon after demolished that it might not be garrisoned. This Army takes also *Leutich*, the Fort of *Zipt* and *Zendre*, and enters into the County of *Sapuse*, where it pillages and burns some other places. Soon after it divides, and *Teckely*, tho' sick with a Tertian Ague, goes to ravage *Silesia* while the *Turks* take *Tokai*. Altho' the *Turks* made open War with the *Emperor* under pretence that the *Port* had not declared, and had not sent all their Forces into *Hungary*, the neighbouring *Bassas*, to whom complaint was made of the Infractions, maintain stoutly that they had not in the least broken the Truce in pursuing, as they said, some Fugitives who daily pillaged their Lands, and in destroying the places to which they retired. At the same time the *Bassa* of *Waradin* takes *Filek*, which surrenders on the 16th of *September*, after three assaults. The Garrison which was made up of *Hungarians* and *Germans*, are all made Prisoners, unless they that would take part with the *Turks*; which the greatest part of the *Hungarians* did, but the *Germans* who had not consented to the surrender of the place, remained

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Prisoners.

Prisoners. In the mean while *Teckely* bought the Governour in paying his Ransom. The news of the Siege of *Filek* being carried to the *Imperial* Commanders, *Count Strasoldo* marched on one side with 7000 Men, of which 3000 were Horse, and 4000 Foot; *Count Caprara* on another side with 6000 Men, and the *Palatine Esterhazy* with a Body of *Hungarian Militia*; but being come too late, they durst not attacque the *Turks*, tho' inferior in number. In the mean while *Teckely* made himself Master of divers places among the Mountains. These so nimble successes caus'd the *Imperial Court* to suspect that the Commanders held correspondence with the *Male-contents*, and *Lamb* was arrested, being accus'd of having ill defended *Cassovie*, and *Strasoldo*, for making a false report of the condition in which he had found the Towns in *Hungary*. This is the custom of Princes whose Arms are unfortunate for want of their making the preparations necessary to carry on the War, to accuse the Commanders of neglect of their duty, or else of Treachery. *Lamb* died in Prison before he had time to justify himself, but *Strasoldo* easily made it appear that the account which he had given of the Towns of *Hungary* was very true, but that they had not sent either the
Troops

Troops or Provisions which he had judg'd necessary to keep them, tho' he had made many instances to have them. Then it was that the *Grand Signior* thought it time to recompence *Teckely* for the services he had daily rendred the *Port*, by declaring him *Prince of Upper Hungary*. To that end he sent him a Vest, a Cymeter and a Standard, according to the custom of the *Port*, with the *Grand Signiors* Patent. From that time *Teckely* coyn'd Money which was stampd on one side with these words, *Emeric Earl Teckely Partium Regni. Prince and Lord of the Confederates of the Kingdom of Hungary*, and this on the reverse; *For God, his Country, and Liberty*.

About that time the Campaign ended, excepting some few Incurfions by the *Male contents*. Soon after a suspension of Arms was agreed on, and during that time *Teckely* offer'd the *Emperor* the Towns of the Mountains, if he would pay him a certain sum monthly, and at the same time threatned to burn them all if this offer were not accepted. The *Emperor* answered him, that to treat with his Sovereign he ought before all things to lay down his Arms; a condition too hard for the Head of a Party who had all sorts of reasons not in the least to trust

trust them against whom he had made War. Besides, *Teckely*, who knew the design of the *Turks*, which was manifest soon after, made these offers only to amuse the *Council* at *Vienna*, and to make it believe that he would not make War otherwise than he had done the former years; that is to say, that he would abandon what he had taken, without putting himself to pain in keeping when an Army should appear. Therefore he was very little astonish'd at the haughty answer which had been made him, having on the other side reason to rejoice that the *Emperor* seem'd to fall into the snare.

But soon after it was understood at the *Court* of *Vienna*, that the *Grand Signior* came to *Adrianople*, and that the *Grand Vizier* was upon coming to *Belgrade*, which made the *Emperor* send *Envoys* to demand Assistance of the *Princes* of the *Empire*, and to make an Alliance with *Poland*. Care was taken at the same time to exaggerate among the *Hungarians* who had submitted to the *Emperor* the perfidy and impiety of the *Male-contents*, who would draw upon *Christendom* all the Forces of the *Ottoman Empire*. They on their side accus'd the *Imperial Council* of an inexcusable obstinacy, since it would never do them justice, when it well knew that they would in the end
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be obliged to go ask it at *Constantinople*, and that the *Turks* once mov'd would not content themselves to do what was desir'd of them, but would pretend to be recompenced with new Conquests. In the mean while they made powerful preparations in *Europe* and in *Asia*, and all the World presag'd that the following year they would enter into a cruel War. *Teckely* continued a long while sick of a Tertian Ague at *Mongats*, where he had divers Conferences with one sent Express from the *Emperor* to endeavour to gain him, but as he had no greater security given him of the Execution of the Promises made him than before, and nothing else was demanded of him but to break entirely with the *Port* to destroy him in the end the more easily, nothing could be advanc'd on that side.

1683. At the beginning of the year 1683. the *Turks* and the *Imperialists* march'd their Troops towards their Frontiers as speedily as was possible, but as on one side one saw the whole *Ottoman Empire* in motion, and that the *German Princes* were not yet resolv'd upon the Succours which they should send into *Hungary*, there was reason to fear, not only for the rest of the Realm, but also for the *Hereditary Provinces*. The *Em-*
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rors Treasury which was not less drain'd in Peace than in War, was less than ever in a condition to make an extraordinary Effort, and the Subjects of the House of *Austria*, who for a long time had contributed more than they could afford in hope of seeing the exactions lessened, would rather have furnish'd Men than Money. Besides, there was not seen in the preparations either the order or activity which had been necessary by reason of the multitude of Commissaries equal in Authority, and of their desire to gain at the expence of their Master, to which desire it was said they were Subjects, because they hop'd for no other recompence.

In the month of *January* *Teckely* opened a *Diet* which he had summoned to *Cassovia* about the end of the preceding year. There came the Deputies not only of the Towns of *Hungary*, which had submitted to him, but also of the Neighbouring Counties which he threatned to pillage if they did not send. The *Emperor* himself sent *Hoffman*, Auditor of the Counsel of War, if it were possible to discover and break the designs of the *Malecontents*. *Teckely* said in the Assembly, that there was no means to preserve any Liberty to *Hungary*, but to stick to the Interest of the *Turks*, who
would

would reduce it to the same foot with *Transylvania*. He represented their Forces, and the design they had to carry on their Conquests so far, that *Upper Hungary* should be shut up between their Lands and *Poland*, so that it was time to declare for them, that by that means they might be the better us'd; that for himself he had done what he could to retard their Enterprize, but that he could not possibly. Nevertheless there were none but *Male-contents* who concluded openly to embrace the Party of the *Port*; others demanded time to consider, and fail'd not to advertise the *Emperor* of what pass'd. His *Envoy* also return'd without doing any thing, and it was in vain that it was proposed at *Vienna* to a man whom *Teckely* had sent to give his Master the Sovereignty of all the Lands which he had possessed in *Upper Hungary* and some others. This man could not conclude on so great an affair, and the *Turks* were advanced too far to be likely to consent to an accommodation of this nature. In the mean while *Teckely*, to shew that it was not through a spirit of revenge that he was engag'd in the War, sent home without Ransom a considerable number of *German* Prisoners which he had taken the last Campaign. At the same time he guarded all the Passes of
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the *Upper Hungary*, to hinder the *Imperialists* from furnishing the places they yet had with Victuals and Ammunition.

On the other side the *Grand Signior* having come to *Adrianople*, about the end of the foregoing year, the Standard of the *Horses Tail* was set up from the second of *January*, and the Army began to draw to the side of *Belgrade*, where its Rendezvous was. The ways from *Adrianople* to that place were seen covered with Troops which marched day and night. They who saw this March assure us, that to lose no time, they caus'd a quantity of necessary provisions to march by night by the light of an infinite number of large Lanthorns of white Linnen placed at convenient distances, and tied to the tops of Pikes. Although great preparations were opportunely made, both the Army and the Places thro' which it pass'd suffered much from the Season. The Peasants were constrained to furnish what they had of Forage and Victuals, if it could be found in their houses, and if there was no body in them they were burnt. The Peasants losing less by these firings than if they had staid in their houses, abandoned a great many Villages to retire with what they could carry to the Woods and Mountains. Altho' what was

was possible was done in *Austria*, to put it into a Condition to resist the *Turks*; the Finances were either so ill administer'd or so wasted, that the Soldiers not being paid, deserted in great numbers, and often took part with the Army of the *Malecontents*. One party was plac'd in the Isle of *Schut*, and the Inhabitants were so ill treated, that they were oblig'd to abandon their Houses, and to retire where they could within the Neighbourhood. These disorders so incens'd those very *Hungarians* who had kept within obedience, that if they had serv'd themselves of this occasion with readiness and vigour, possibly they might have made all *Hungary* rebel. But in the course of these Wars, it has been a Thousand times observ'd, that neither the *Imperialists* have known how to Profit of the Faults of the *Malecontents*, nor the *Malecontents* of those of the *Imperialists*. More Order, a little more Discipline, and a little Skill in the Art Military, might have mutually serv'd and hurt both sides: and if the one did not profit by the Advantages which they gain'd from time to time, the others had no better Conduct when they had the better.

In the Month of *February*, the *Turks* had a design upon the Isle of *Schut*, whether

ther they hop'd to go over the Ice ; but there being a Thaw the Enterprize fail'd and some Soldiers were drown'd. *Tekeli* endeavour'd also in vain some Weeks after to surprize *Tirnam*, that he might hinder the Communication of *Leopoldstadt*, with *Trentshin*. The Count Summon'd another Diet to *Casseire*, & threatened as he had before, to Pillage those *Hungarians* who would not be there. He did not fail to execute his Menaces against them who refus'd to meet him, although the *Emperor* had forbidden them. While he was employ'd in these Military Executions, he receiv'd the News of having a Daughter born at *Mongats*, and he pray'd the *Vaivode* of *Transylvania* to be Godfather ; who sent a Gentleman of the best Quality to stand for him.

At the beginning of *May*, the *Grand Vizier* arriv'd at *Belgrade* ; and soon after about the same time, the *Emperor* had a Review of his Army near *Presburg*. It consisted of near 40000 Men, of which more than 12000 were Cavalry. But as he came not to Command, he soon after return'd to *Vienna*, and left the Command to the *Duke of Lorrain*. That Prince after having long weigh'd whether he should attack *Gran* or *Newhausel*, determin'd upon the last, and went
to

to form the Siege at the beginning of June, when the *Ottoman* Army march'd back again. Upon the advice which he had, he drew into the Isle of *Schut*, to observe the Enemy from thence with greater Security, and to be in a condition to act on either side the *Danube*, as should seem fitting. He went not far from thence, because they could not yet judge with certainty of the design of the *Turks*.

After having pass'd the *Save*, they encamp'd near *Esseck*, and there it was that *Tekeli* came up to the *Vizier*, having cross'd the *Danube* at *Valkowar*. There were sent to meet him 3 Leagues off before his coming up, the *Chiaous Bassa*, accompanied with the *Spahilar Aga*, and divers other *Aga's*, to whom *Mauro Cordato* the *Grand Seignior's* Chief Interpreter serv'd for *Trucheman*. Sixscore of the *Viziers* *Dellies* came to offer him their Services, and told him, That they came to obey his Orders. They put themselves at the Head the rest of the March towards the Camp of the *Turks*. After them march'd 150 *Hussars* well mounted, with Trumpets and Kettle-Drums. One of them carried a Standard of a Blew Colour, where one might see in Gold an Arm with a naked Sword in the hand, and the Name of *Tekeli* about it. There was

was also a Red Standard with his Arms, and some others with Six led Horses. Fifty *Hungarian* Gentlemen, *Protestants* and *Catholicks*; and among others Count *Humanai* followed. One might see after that a Cornet who was follow'd with divers *Hungarians* mingled among *Turks*. Seven other Saddle-Horses were led by Grooms cloath'd in the *Hungarian* fashion. One might see after them *Tekeli* himself upon an Horse proudly harpass'd, which the *Vizier* had sent him. There were about six Persons with Tygers Skins upon their Backs, cloathed in the *Hungarian* fashion, with a grey Cloath lin'd with white Wolves Skin, with edges of Silver upon the Hems, and long white Feathers in their Caps. There was also another Coach and two *Calashes* follow'd, with a Green Standard at the Head of a Company of *Heydukes* well appointed and arm'd. At last came a Troop of *Cavaliers*, who with the former made the number of 400. In this order *Tekeli* arriv'd at the Tent of the *Vizier*, who treated him and *Castans*. all his Followers with Sweetmeats.

The *Vizier* also presented him with a Vest lin'd with Ermine, and cover'd with a Stuff with small Flowers of Silver upon a red Ground; after which, he

he was Conducted to a Tent which had been prepar'd for him, and which was encompass'd with divers others for the Nobility which he had with him. *Tekeli* had this Reception in the sight of the *Emperor's Envoy*, that he might see the esteem which they had at the *Port* for this Head of the *Malecontents*.

Tekeli had several Conferences with the *Grand Vizier* upon the Designs which they might form in concert, and upon those which each might execute by himself; after which he return'd for *Cassovia*. As soon as he was arriv'd, he publish'd a Manifesto, by which he exhorted all the *Hungarians* who had any love for their Countrey to range themselves under his Standards, and assur'd them, if they did, of the Protection of the *Grand Seignior*, who had oblig'd himself to maintain them in their Estates, their Religion, and their Privileges. On the other side, he threatned those who should obstinately adhere to the *Emperor* to Pillage their Lands, and give them no Quarter. As soon as this Manifesto came into *Lower Hungary*, *Papa*, *Thara*, *Westprin* and *Lewentz* received those that *Tekeli* sent, these Towns being too much expos'd to the *Turks*, whose Army was too near for them to take long time to consider what they had to do. The

Emperor

Emperor fearing lest all the Towns which he had in *Hungary* should do the like, and turn out his Garrisons, gave Orders to the Governours to send out all the Ammunition, and to abandon them, that they might render themselves at the Camp, which *General Schultze* had form'd near the *Waag*. This Order was executed with much precipitation, and the *Ecclesiastick Catholics* withdrew at the same time, lest the *Protestants* should revenge themselves upon them, for the ills they had suffer'd at their solicitation. At the same time almost all the abandon'd places receiv'd *Tekeli*, and if he, or the *Turks* had been content with that Advantage that Campagne, and had only applied themselves to fortifie the places as they might have been, and once for all to make themselves Masters of the Passes, possibly they might to this day have possess'd all *Hungary*. But we have often already remark'd, that the *Malecontents* were fit only to make Incursions.

In the mean while, the Turkish Army, as some said 200000 strong, and according to others 120000 advanc'd towards *Austria*, without staying to attack either *Raab* or *Comorra*, as it was thought it would have done. So that the *Duke of Lorraine*, who had weakned his

his Army, that he might leave in those places Garrisons able to employ the *Turks*, at least some time, took care for no more than to place himself in some advantageous Post, to observe the Enemy. Forty thousand Men which he had, were not able to dispute the Field with so numerous an Army as that of the *Turks*. Therefore he posted himself about the end of *June*, between *Rabuits* and *Raab*, and there expected the Enemies Army. On the First of *July*, it appear'd on the other side of *Raab*, and the *Imperialists*, that they might dispute the Pass, rais'd Batteries upon the River, which in some places incommoded the *Turks*. But they at the same time rais'd others, and detach'd a considerable Body of Cavalry to go search an other Ford which was higher, and which *Count Budiani* defended with some *Hungarians*. Some *Malecontents* who led the Turkish Cavalry, no sooner appear'd to *Budiani*, but he turn'd to their side, and suffer'd the Enemies Troops to pass. They march'd directly to *Rabuits*, which they went through without opposition, and instead of applying themselves to enclose the *Duke of Lorrain*, or to attack him on one side, while the Body of the Army came upon him on the other; they employ'd themselves in Pillaging
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and making Slaves. The Passage over the River being thus gain'd, the *Duke* of *Lorraine* caus'd the Infantry in the *Isle* of *Schut* to march, and kept the Cavalry with him, to observe the Enemy. A few days after, there was a Skirmish near *Petronel*, between that Cavalry and the Enemy's; which at first was without any great Advantage on either side; although the Imperial Cavalry soon gave ground. In the mean while, since there was no probability of stopping the march of the Enemies, and that it was seen they intended for *Vienna*; the *Duke* of *Lorraine* himself gave Order to Pillage all about, that the *Turks* might not find wherewith to subsist, and this Order was punctually executed, the *German* Troops being excellent at making waste in a Country belonging to Friends as well as Enemies. The *Emperor* who staid at *Vienna* till then, took no longer time to consider on which side the *Danube* he should retire, and a few days after he pass'd over the Bridges of *Vienna* to get to *Lintz* by great Journeys, for fear of being Surrounded by the *Tartars*, who ran on all parts. We are assur'd that there went out of *Vienna* more than 60000 Souls, who imitated the Prudence of the Court, and who did not think fit to be Buried under the Ruines of that Town.

Town. On the 12th of *July*, they began to Burn the Suburbs, and to dispose all things for a vigorous defence. It having not been imagin'd that the *Turks* would leave behind them *Comorra* and *Raab* unattack'd, it was thought there was time enough to fortifie the place, if they should carry the two others. So that there were only the old Fortifications, which were not in a condition long to resist so Puissant an Army; if the *Turks* had known what belong'd to attacking a place. Before they had invested it, the *Duke of Lorrain* put in all the Foot which he could get together, which made about 17000, with a great Number of Gentry, who had thrown themselves into the place, besides the Burghers who were fit to bear Arms, *Ernest Roger Count Staremburg*, Great Master of the *Ordonance*, was declar'd Governor, and had given him several Generals who were to Command under him. The *Duke of Lorrain* having provided for all things, as much as the shortness of time would permit, retir'd beyond the Bridges with the Horse, having given Order to break them; so that it was suspected that he was not sure of undertaking the Defence as he did afterwards. On the 14th of *July*, the *Turks* encamp't before the Town, and began

to work on their Lines. The Town of *Vienna* being situated on the Southern Mouth of the *Danube*, which in that place makes two Isles, cross which Men pass the River over three Bridges; The *Vizier* little skill'd in War, and incapable of good Counsel, did not at the first make any effort for rendring himself Master of these Bridges, which he might have done; but placed all his Army on the middle of the Town. He afterwards when it was too late repented of this Fault, when he had continued a sufficiently long time before the place. The Works were not carried on with more Skill, the *Turks* having only some Runagades for Engineers, who seem'd able among People who understood nothing at all; but they are not comparable to the Christian Engineers. Therefore they employed much time, and lost abundance of People to gain the Works, which Christian Troops could have gain'd easily, and without great loss. On the other side, the Imperialists had a number of Engineers, who if they were not well exercis'd, at least were more than those of the *Turks*, and their Commanders Brave and Able, perfectly well-employed their Men; who for the most part rather want Heads than Courage. I will not stay here to recount the Circum-

cumstances of the Siege, of which many Relations have been made ; because *Te-keli* had no part in it.

While the *Turks* press'd *Vienna*, which they did at first with Vigour enough ; he form'd a design of Besieging with 20000 *Hungarians* and 8000 *Turks*, the Castle of *Presburg*, which held out against him, although the Town had been Surrender'd. The Duke of *Lorrain* having Intelligence of it, sent on that side 200 Foot, convoy'd with 300 Horse, to endeavour to enter the Castle ; but the Convoy was beaten, and the 200 Men obliged to return. Upon this News, he with speed march'd his Cavalry, which consisted of 8000 *Germans* and 2000 *Poles*, Commanded by *Lubomirski*, and put 200 into the Castle. The Burghers surpriz'd to see an Imperial Army, surrender'd almost as soon as they were Summon'd, and hardly gave the *Malecontents* time to retire to their Camp ; which was not far from the Town. *Te-keli* incens'd at this Affront, which they had now done, sent a Detachment of his Army to fall upon the Enemy, which at first made no movement, because it was not yet rang'd in Battel. But as they soon as it was, who apparently had imagin'd that they should find no more than a Party of Imperial Horse, believing

them sufficiently employ'd in opposing the Incursions of the *Tartars*, were surpriz'd to see the whole Army march towards them, and since theirs was inferiour in number, they soon after thought of retiring. They did it in very good order; but being warmly charg'd by the *Imperialists*, they began to fly as fast as they could, some to *Tirnaw*, and others to a River two Miles distant, on the other side of which they made a stand and stopt the Enemy, who did not think it worth their while to pursue them farther.

This Action was towards Evening, and in the Night *Tekeli*, who was encamp'd at some distance from thence, thought that he ought to dislodge against the opinion of the *Turks*, who were encamp'd by themselves near him; the Reason which he gave was, That it was of Importance to rally them who had newly been defeated, and dangerous to expose affrighted Troops to a Victorious Army. Thereupon the *Turks* divided from him, and would not rejoyn him but by express Order from the *Grand Vizier*. This mixture of Christian and Mahumetan Troops commanded by different Heads, produces no good. The Heads would often be of different Sentiments, would one yield to the other, and the

the *Turks* would have the Christians undergo all the hazard when there was any, as the Christians fought for nothing but advantaging themselves at the expence of the *Turks*. Their Design had been to seize the Castle of *Presburg*, that they might have a Passage there over the *Danube*, that they might easily maintain a Communication with one another. For that end, the Turkish Cavalry which was not employ'd at the Siege, ought to have search'd out that of the *Imperialists*, and have constrained them to withdraw into *Germany*; which had not been difficult for any other People besides the *Turks* to have done.

The Duke of *Lorrain*, being drawn nearer to *Vienna*, that he might incommode the Besiegers as much as he could possibly, the *Malecontents* provided for the *Turks* divers Boats, by means of which, they might have some Communication with them, and at the same time might enter into *Moravia*, from whence they might draw considerable Contributions and part of which they might ravage; nor could the *Imperialists* be able to hinder them. These last, in truth, march'd against the *Malecontents*, to take from them what they had gotten, and having come up to them, Charg'd them with vigour enough; but 300 Horse

who came to their Assistance, sav'd the Booty which they had taken.

The *Imperialists* took the way of *Tuln* and *Krembs*, to receive the Auxiliary Troops who came from all Parts of *Germany* and *Poland* as fast as they could possibly. But having received advice that the *Tartars* and *Turks* followed by *Tekeli* were entered into *Moravia*, they were oblig'd to turn on that side. In the end, the *Grand Vizier* having known that the Succours advanc'd, and that the *Imperial Horse* march'd to joyn them, gave Orders to the *Tartars* and *Male-contents* to make waste in the Hereditary Countrey as far as they could, either to oblige the *Duke of Lorrain* to return that way, or to take from the Succours all means of subsisting when they should arrive. From the 23d of *August* the *Tartars* had enter'd *Moravia*, and had begun to make the Country in such a manner desolate, that it could not recover in a long time; for the *Male-contents* they were contented to keep encamp'd near *Mark*, and to promise the *Tartars* to follow them. In the mean while they did not advance at all, and it seem'd as if *Tekeli* as much fear'd the Success of the Siege of *Vienna*, and the Consequences which the taking of that Place might have, as he had before fear'd the Victories of the *Emperor*.
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In truth, were it supposed that the *Turks* had made themselves Masters of all *Hungary*, and of part of the Hereditary Countries of the House of *Austria*, they would have had no more need of *Teckely*, and perhaps might treat him with as much contempt as they had lately paid him honours while he was necessary to them. On the other side, if the *Turks* should fail in the Siege of *Vienna*, the *Emperor* would be more formidable than ever, because ordinarily the *Turks* who are insupportable with good Fortune, have little courage under bad. *Teckely* made these reflections, or had some other reason for acting less vigorously than ordinarily, and did not manage his Forces without cause.

The Duke of *Lorraine* having made^t Detachment to discover the condition of the Enemy, followed immediately after with all his Horse. The *Tartars* and *Turks* seeing the *Imperialists* come up, put themselves into a posture to receive them, and fell upon them so briskly, that at the first they routed some Squadrons, and some pierced even to the Body of Reserve, but not being sufficiently sustained, the greatest part of them who had advanced so far perished. After that the *Tartars* having in vain attempted to gain the Flank of the *Im-*

perialists, their Army divided into two parts, and one part retired towards *Teckely's* Camp, the other towards the Bridges of *Vienna*, where a great many perished who cast themselves into the *Danube*, in hopes of swimming over.

The Infidels were inferior in number to the *Imperialists*, who had then above 30000 Horse. There perished in that action between 1000 and 1200 Men of the *Turks* and *Tartars*, who had apparently been Conquerors if *Teckely* had assisted them to purpose. The Turkish Troops, and those of the *Male-contents* having been repulsed and beaten more than once on the other side the *Danube*, the *Vizier* could hardly have any communication with them, nor give them assistance, that there was one of the greatest faults which he made in the Enterprize of the Siege of *Vienna*, whereas he ought before all things to be Master of the two Mouths of the *Danube*, and to pursue the *Imperial* Army, which could not have made head against a much greater number of Troops; so that while one part of the Army had carried on the Siege, the other might have cover'd it, and have foraged all about which the *Vizier* having understood too late, order'd the *Walachians* and *Moldavians* to labour to rebuild the Bridges of

of *Vienna* which the *Imperialists* had broken, and they began to do so, but the *imperial* Horse being posted on the other side with some Foot and Cannon, they could not bring it to pass. In the mean while the King of *Poland* being arrived with his Army by the way of *Moravia*, he left a Detachment with some *Imperial* Troops to oppose the designs of the *Male-contents* while he passed the *Danube* to joyn other Auxiliary Forces, and to attacque the *Turks* in concert with them. During the Siege *Teckely* having pass'd the *Danube* at *Gran*, went to salute the *Vizier* and having conferr'd with him, was sent back again, leaving in the Camp only 1000 commanded by the Counts *Nadaſti* and *Budiani*.

The Place was pressed with vigour enough till the 11th of *September*, and had been reduc'd to extremity, when the Relief began to appear. We are assured that notwithstanding the resistance and bravery of the besieged, the *Vizier* had carried the Place before the Relief could be ready, if he had been lov'd by his Souldiers; but being greedy, and having undertook to furnish the provisions, he had done it with such husbandry, that he drew upon him the hatred of all men; besides that he was also hated by divers *Bassas*. Being but
H 5 little

little skill'd in the Art Military, not only he knew not how to press on the Siege, but he also committed two capital faults, besides those which we have taken notice of. He caus'd all about *Vienna* to be wasted by the *Tartars*, instead of making all that he could find about it serve for the use of his Army, a fault which made his Army suffer much at the end of the Siege. And yet farther, instead of securing the Field on the side by which succours might come, and when he had notice of their first approach, and he had not the precaution to seize the hollow ways and defiles thro' which they must needs come to him. After this ill Conduct he went out of his Lines to endeavour to beat back the Succours, the force of which he did not know, but having seen a formidable Army which amounted to more than 60000 Men compos'd of the best Troops of *Germany* and *Poland*, he thought of nothing but retreating, and abandoning his Baggage with all that was in his Camp; so that having on the 12th of *September* stop'd the Christian Army for seven or eight hours by disputing the ground, and by a Skirmish of one part of his Troops who retreated insensibly, as soon as night was come he marched with diligence towards the
passes

Passes of *Rabnitz* and *Raab*, which he had caus'd to be guarded by *Abaffi*, that he might retreat on that side if he could not take *Vienna*. The day following he repass'd the *Raab* without being pursued by the Christian Army, which being wearied with the great Marches it had made, was obliged to rest some days. Thus it was that *Vienna* was delivered after a Siege of near two months, chiefly by the bravery of the King of *Poland* and the Duke of *Lorrain*, who gave the chief Orders, and had the greatest share in the defeat of the Enemy. The second being engaged to serve the Emperor to the utmost, was praised by all *Europe* for having done it so well, both during the whole Siege, and the day it was rais'd. The King of *Poland*, to whom the grandeur of the House of *Austria* might have given more umbrage than the Conquest of some Towns; for the *Ottoman Empire*, acquired eternal Glory in despising the suggestions of a base Policy, and in leaving his Countrey to relieve a Town abandoned by its proper Sovereign, when there was danger of arriving too late. If the *Male-contents* of *Hungary* had done as much for the *Port*, or rather for themselves, their Affairs had not been in the declension as they have since been. But they seem
born

born to have great occasions and to lose them; as their Enemies from that time seemed in possession of braving the *Ottoman Empire* with Forces which it despised a few years before, and which in truth they could not have equall'd if it had known how to serve it self of them.

The King of *Poland* and the Duke of *Lorrain* resolving to follow the *Turks* while they were under their fright, altho' the *Saxon* Troops had refused to go any farther, parted the eighteenth of the Month, and marched towards the Isle of *Schut*, where they passed the *Danube* seven or eight days after to go towards *Lewentz* and *Buda*, whither the Armies of the *Male-contents* and *Turks* were retreated, after having reinforced the Garisons of *Newhausel* and *Gran*. There the *Vizier* desirous to cast upon others the faults which he had committed, and vext at the defeat of his Enterprize, put to death the *Bassa* of *Buda* and some others, besides several subaltern Officers, as not having well acquitted themselves at the Siege, and in the March to *Vienna*. The Season being far advanced, and the Troops of *Franconia* and the *Bavarian* Foot being withdrawn some time after those of *Saxony*, they were not in a condition to attempt any thing
confi-

considerable. The Garrisons of the Places belonging to the *Turks*, being, as has been said, reinforc'd, the Armies of the *Turks* and *Male-contents* were not far from thence, and for all their loss, much more strong, being together, than the Christian Army. In the mean while, that they might not have advanc'd in vain, the King of *Poland* and the Duke of *Lorraine* resolved to march towards *Barkan*, which is a Fort upon the Northern side of the *Danube* at the head of the Bridge of *Gran*. It was judg'd that if they could render themselves Masters of that Post, they should be in a condition to undertake the Siege of *Gran*, if they thought fit, and might hinder the communication of *Newhausel* with *Buda*. On the seventh of *October* the King of *Poland* having had false Advice that the Detachment of *Turks* which was at *Barkan*, was not considerable advanc'd with his Horse without expecting the coming up of the Foot contrary to the Opinion of the Duke of *Lorraine*, who sail'd not also to march immediately after him with the *Imperial* Horse. The *Poles* at first drove back some Squadrons of *Turks* who appeared, but thinking to give them the Chase, a great Body of Horse came from behind an Hill, and charg'd

charg'd them with so much impetuosity, that it made them to flie in their turn. The King sustain'd his Men by other Squadrons, and himself advanc'd at their Head; but those that fled, and the Shock of the *Turks* put them into disorder, and they gave ground when the *Imperial* Horse who had pass'd a Defile on the left hand to come into the Plain where the Fight was, begun to put themselves in order of Battle and to advance, so that it was ranged for falling upon the *Turks* in the Flank. The Infidels seeing new Troops come to them, and fearing to engage again, after making an halt, retreated insensibly and in good order, nor did the *Imperial* Cavalry pursue them.

The affrighted *Poles* had all the difficulty in the World to be put again into order, and talkt of nothing but going into Winter-Quarters, without attempting any thing farther. The King, to diminish their fright, entreated the Duke of *Lorraine* to take the right hand, which was nearest the Enemy, and marched his Troops to the left. They encamped in this order while they expected the Foot, to which Orders had been sent to make haste. They arriv'd the next day, and a resolution

lution was taken to attacque the *Turks* the day following, being the 9th of *October*. The Christian Army was about Thirty thousand, two thirds of which was Cavalry, and the rest Infantry. For the *Turks* they were but Fourteen thousand *Spahies*, and Twelve hundred *Janizaries*.

The Christian Army advanced in the morning after having formed three Lines, the two first of which were of *Imperial* Troops, and the last of those of *Poland*, one part of which nevertheless was in the first Lines on the right and left, one commanded by the King, the other by General *Jablanowski*. The *Turks* appeared about Nine a Clock, rang'd in Battle as if they had been in a condition to resist an Army twice as strong as theirs, possibly not knowing the number of the Enemies, or puffed up with the advantage they had gain'd over the *Poles* two days before. Immediately they charg'd *Jablanowski*, who was on the left Wing, thinking to rout the *Poles* in the first Engagement: But they being supported by the *Imperialists*, the *Turks* turned all their Forces to that side, without minding the right, and the main Body which flank'd them, and with which they were within half an hour inclos'd
and

and put to the rout. This is the nature of the *Turks* to act at first with an extream impetuosity, without regarding danger, but when their Shock is over, and that they begin to be terrified, they run into disorder, and nothing is able to put new Courage into them. As soon as they were once broken, they ran with all speed to *Barkan*, and the first that came pass'd the Bridge over the *Danube* with speed, and broke it after them without staying for the rest of their Army. Soon after the Fort was attack'd on all sides, and was entred with Sword in hand, the *Turks* who had not pass'd over the Bridge madly threw themselves into the *Danube*, endeavouring to gain the other side either on Horse-back or by swimming, instead of defending themselves. As soon as it was understood that they might lodge all night at *Barkan*, both Poles and Germans were desirous of it, and for fear they should Quarrel Count *Staremberg* caused the Germans to go out. The Poles having observed the Heads of some of their Companions, which the *Turks* had set upon the Palisadoes, set fire to the Fort and burnt it down. We are assured that *Tekely* during the action was not far from thence, and that he drew near to joyn the *Turks* by
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the Viziers order ; but having seen what had passed from the Neighbouring Mountains, he went back as fast as he could. If this be true we must avow that this *Count* ill serv'd them who had given him the Title of Prince of *Hungary*. In the mean while, if before he acted weakly for them for fear he should make them too powerful, it was time to assist them with all his Forces, lest he with them should be driven out of *Hungary*. However it were whether through weakness or ill politics the *Malecontents* did not do what they should have done, on this and other occasions.

After the taking the Fort of *Barkan* it was found that this Post being commanded by the Castle of *Gran* was of no use towards the Seige of that Town, and that there wanted time to put it into a condition of defence, the *Palisadoes* having been burnt. Therefore they abandoned it, and the Duke of *Lorraine* judged that it would not be difficult to pass the *Danube* a little higher over against the two Isles, which he designed to do an hours march above *Gran*. Order was given to the Governor of *Comorra* to send the Bridge of Boats which was before that place, to serve on this occasion. The King of
Poland

Poland had been of a contray Opinion, but the Duke of *Lorraine* so strongly represented to him, both the facility of the Enterprize, and the dishonour it would be for the Christians to end the Campaign, without having drawn any advantage from the consternation which they had cast among the Enemies by the Victories which they had newly gain'd, that the King at last consented to stay and cover the Siege continuing encamped on the side of *Barkan*.

While they were at these terms *Count Humanai* comes with some Commanders of the *Malecontents* into the Camp of the King of *Poland* to entreat Audience of him. He grants it them, and after some Complements they tell him, they were very sorry to see *Hungary* covered with Trops of *Turks* and *Tartars* as it had been, and the Neighbouring Countries exposed to the danger of falling under the Turkish Domination, but that they were not the cause, that all these misfortunes with all their Consequences, ought to be attributed to them who had advised the Emperor to violate all the Laws and all the Priviledges of *Hungary*; to have occasion to pillage it without his knowledge, and the goods of those who should oppose them; while none were
able

able to demand justice against them, that it ought not to be thought strange that the Nobility and People of *Hungary* had desired the Conservation of their Priviledges with as much Ardour as strangers had laboured to take them away. That it were unjust to exact from them, that they should see all their Laws overturned, and their Goods and Families become a prey and sport to the *Germans* without stirring. That they had a thousand times carried their Complaints to His *Imperial Majesty*, that they always found him prejudiced against them, by the great credit which they had who look on *Hungary* as an assured Pillage, if they could introduce an Arbitrary Government. That if not obtaining any satisfaction from his Majesties Council, some of the Nobility had taken unlawful ways to prevent the ruine of their Countrey, this fault would be at least as pardonable as the Pillages and Violences of strangers: That also the greatest part did not at the beginning enter into any Conspiracy, but that the Enemies of the Realm had with joy taken advantage of the fautes of some few, that they might treat as Rebels all who had any thing to lose, and seize on their goods; this strange conduct has oblig'd a great number to d

part from them. That as to be accused and have an Estate, was the same thing as to be Condemned to Death, or at least to lose all that one had: Despair had put in Arms the People who demanded nothing but to live in Peace, obeying the *Emperor* and the Laws, that in pursuance thereof the *Emperors* evil Counsellors had carried him to change the whole form of the Government without having any regard to Privileges, of which they who remained within Obedience ought not to have been despoiled by reason of *Male-contents*. That in truth he had reestablished the Ancient Government but as to the rest the Laws had no more Authority than before, and the Realm was daily a prey to strangers. That the *Male-contents* had not ceased to offer his *Imperial Majesty* to lay down Arms, if he would re-establish the Laws, and would give any security that they should not be used as formerly. That they came still with the same intention, and that they pray'd his Majesty of *Poland* to interceed for them, not doubting but he was touch'd with the miseries of *Hungary*; and for so many years to see blood-spilt which might be better employed. The King of *Poland* testified to them a sensible concernment at what had passed.

sed, and expressed a great desire of seeing their miseries at an end. He believed at the same time that he was bound to procure them Audience of the Duke of *Lorraine* who refused to hear them without the Emperors leave, but at last thought fit to comply with the King of *Poland*. The Deputies of the *Malecontents*, after having protested that whatever opinion might be conceived of their conduct, against which they would have it that an infinite number of People were prejudiced without having well examined it, they had always been for Peace and did not yet demand any thing else: They represented that they were ready to enter into a Treaty with Commissioners; that his *Imperial Majesty* should give them that, for that end it was necessary as it had been at the end of former Campaigns to make a suspension of Arms, and to mark the Counties of *Hungary* where it should be found fit for the Troops of the *Malecontents* to take their Winter Quarters. The Duke of *Lorraine*, who had no Orders, thereupon represented to them the wrong which they had done in continuing in Rebellion, and exhorted them to renounce all manner of Alliance with the *Turks* to lay down their Arms and
implore

implore the *Emperor's* Clemency; after which, he doubted not but they would have cause to praise his Bounty. The Deputies replied, That if they had taken Arms, and had enter'd into any Engagement with the *Turks*, it was but by force, after having seen that their Enemies hinder'd the *Emperor* from having any regard to their just Complaints; and that there was no appearance that he would do them Justice. Thereupon they went back to the King of *Poland*, where they stay'd some time; and by that it was perceiv'd, that they were not in such a terrour as was thought.

Soon after *Lewentz* opened its Gates to the *Imperialists*, and the Counties of *Tirnav*, *Trenshin*, and *Nitrie*, who had taken part with the *Malecontents*, at the arrival of the Turkish Army, declar'd against them after the Battel at *Balkan*. As soon as the Bridge which the Duke of *Lorraine* caus'd to be made was finish'd, and that his Troops had pass'd to the other side, the County of *Wesprin* followed the example of the others. On the 23d of *October*, the Duke of *Lorraine* encamp'd at *Gran*, upon the Avenues of *Buda*, to hinder them from relieving the place on that side. He had been reinforced with
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the Elector of *Bavaria's* Foot, which he sent the *Emperor*; from which Men were assur'd that this was to close the Campagne with an Enterprize which might bring Honour to the *Imperial* Arms. He also came himself to the Camp with what Horse he had on the 26th in the Morning, and saw the Reduction of the Place the day after. The Garrison near 4000 Strong, went out the 28th with Arms and Baggage according to the Capitulation, and was Conducted to *Buda*. Although the Fortifications of *Gran* were not considerable; yet a Garrison so numerous might easily have defended it a long while, if the Losses which the *Turks* had this Campagne had not intimidated them. Besides the Castle which is upon a Rock, and which has a Spring of Running Water, which alone might supply them some Weeks, if a disorder had not been among the Infidels. The *Visier*, who according to the Rules of War, ought to have Cover'd *Gran*, and who had nothing to fear, being still much more strong than the *Imperialists*, retir'd not only to *Buda*, but also to *Esseck*, and from thence to *Belgrade*; where he was Strangled for his Ill Conduct, the 25th of *December* the same Year,
by

by Order of the *Grand Seignior*.

The Duke of *Lorraine* gave the Government of *Gran* to *Carlowits*, Major of the Regiment of Count *Marc Staremburg*, with a Garrison of a Thousand Men, and repass'd the *Danube* to the Army on the 30th, after having given the Necessary Orders for repairing the Breaches of the Place. They spoke of nothing after that but Winter Quarters, and there were assign'd to the King of *Poland*, the Counties of *Eperies*, *Cassovia*, and *Tokai*, which the *Malecontents* had the preceding Winter with the Frontiers of *Transylvania*. As to the last Article, the King agreed with the *Vai-voide* for Money, that he might not be burthensome to the *Transylvanians* and obtain'd of the *Emperor* a larger extent, for his Quarters in *Hungary*.

Before his parting to go thither, the King gave the Duke of *Lorraine* to understand, that he would oblige him in hearing once more the Proposals of the *Malecontents*. The Duke excus'd himself at first, for that he had not yet received from the *Emperor* any Power to treat of this Affair; but the King representing to him, that without engaging himself

himself to any thing, he might hear what they ask'd, and take such Measures thereupon as he should judge fitting, he consented. For that end, a Meeting was had in the King's Tent the Fifth of *November*. The Vice-Chancellor of *Hungary*, who had been instructed by the Deputies of the *Malecontents*, was their Spokesman. He in few words made appear the Advantage the *Emperor* might draw from *Hungary*, by granting what they askt, in the War against the *Turks*, in which, being joyn'd with his Army, they might easily resist the Infidels without necessity of seeking help elsewhere. He shew'd that His *Imperial* Majesty, who values himself upon his Clemency more than any other Virtue, would do a good thing in giving Peace to an infinite number of Innocents, who would suffer more than could be imagin'd in a Civil and Foreign War. After that, he propos'd Six Articles on the part of the *Malecontents*, which he desir'd to be granted :

1. The Censervation of their Privileges.

2. Liberty of Conscience.

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3. The

3. The Restitution of Confiscated Estates.

4. The Summoning a Free *Diet*, and wherein they could to contribute towards it.

5. Winter Quarters and a Suspension of Arms while they were upon a Treaty.

6. The Sovereignty of some Counties which had the Year before been offer'd to *Tekeli*.

The *Vicechancellor* of *Poland* added to this, That although they had had great Advantages against the *Turks*, they must not imagine that they had entirely quell'd them; That by making the *Malecontents* desperate, they would joyn them with the *Turks* for ever; and that it was impossible to be assur'd that this Conjunction would not sometime yet produce great Evils.

The *Duke* of *Lorraine* answer'd, That they might expect all from the Clemency of His Imperial Majesty, if they would immediately break with the *Turks* and submit themselves to the discretion of their Sovereign. That this was all the Counsel that he could give, and that he had no other
Answer

Answer to make to their Propositions. Thereupon they separated, and the Deputies return'd to the place from whence they came.

The *Duke of Lorrain* applied himself to put the Imperial Troops into the Quarters which had been assign'd them, and left the *Counts Rabata* and *Caraffa*, with *Baron Merci*, to Command them. All the Necessary Orders being given, he took the way of *Lintz*, where the *Emperor* still was. The King of *Poland*, who had parted some time before for *Cassovia*, took in his way the Small Town of *Schim*, where was a Turkish Garrison. He continued on his March, and sent to Summon *Cassovia*; which having a strong Garrison of *Malecontents*, refus'd to Surrender. The King not knowing how to force them in the middle of the Winter, and not liking to leave his Troops expos'd to the Incursions of the *Malecontents* in a Country of which they had no knowledge; made but little stay in *Upper Hungary*. He gave Order to his Army, excepting some Foot to enter into *Poland*, and took the Passes to return to *Cracovia*. His Army followed him soon after, and left the *Germans* the liberty to

take the Quarters which had been assign'd them.

Cara Mustapha had presented himself before the *Grand Seignior* the first time at *Belgrade*; and to excuse himself, had laid the blame upon several others, and particularly upon *Tekeli*, by whom he said he had been betray'd. The *Grand Seignior* at first appear'd satisfied with his Reasons; but whether it were that as soon as he came to *Adrianople*, whither he went soon after, some had taken Care in his Presence to aggravate the Faults of the *Vizier*, or upon any other occasion, he, as has been said, sent to have him Strangled. In the mean while *Tekeli* having notice of the ill Impressions the *Vizier* had given of him to his *Highness*, and not being able to subsist without Aid of the *Port*, took a Bold Resolution, which succeeded well. He render'd himself at *Adrianople*, and having obtain'd Audience of the *Grand Seignior*, he told him, That being inform'd that his Conduct had been mis-represented to his *Highness*, he came to justify himself before him, or to offer him his Head, if he were culpable. The *Grand Seignior* was touch'd at his Submission, and

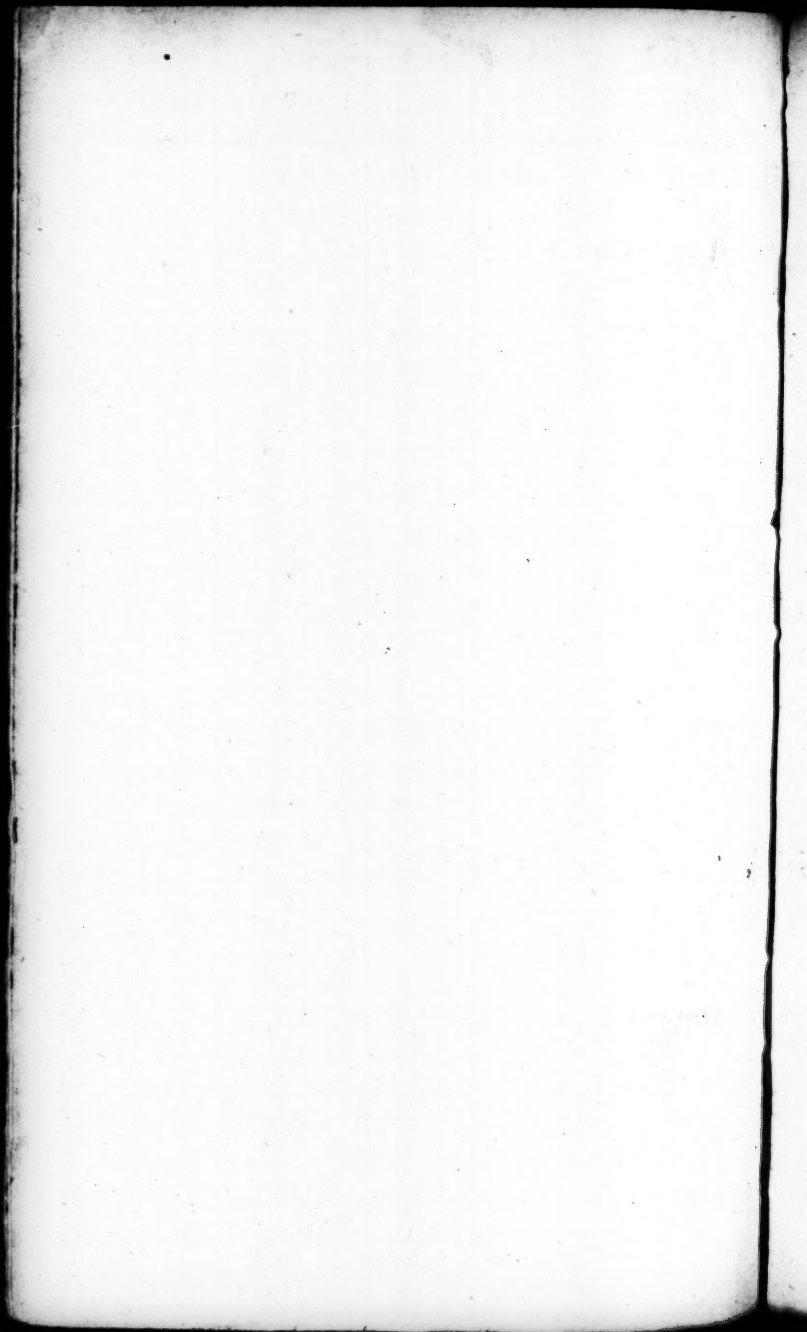
and the Confidence which he appear'd to have in the Justice of the *Musulmans*. He gave him *Commissioners*, to whom *Tekeli* related the particulars of the *Vizier's* Faults, of which he had been already inform'd in part. Among these Faults, he particularly enlarg'd upon one of them, on which we have remark'd above; which is, That the *Vizier* not having given him Troops enough to act on the other side the *Danube*, the Imperial Horse, which were the best Horse in the World, had been in a condition to traverse his Designs; and that it had been strong enough to be Master of the greater part of *Hungary*, almost in the View of so formidable a Body. Besides, not being able to have Communication ready and easie enough with the *Vizier*, who was not Master of the *Danube*, he could not be reliev'd when he needed it, nor could give the Necessary Advices; That if the *Vizier* had had the Precaution to render himself Master of some Pass upon the *Danube*, though he had not succeeded before *Vienna*, he might have preserv'd to the *Grand Seignior* all the *Upper Hungary*, which held with the *Malecontents*, by retreating on that side; That his

Army joyn'd to that of the *Malecontents* was yet stronger than was necessary to beat the Army of the *Emperor* and the *King of Poland*, in case they durst have pursued the *Vizier*; and that it had been easie to take Quarters in those Parts of *Hungary*, where the *Imperialists* had never been, but because they had abandon'd them.

These Reasons supported by the *Vizier's* Enemies, and conformable to the Prejudices they had given the *Grand Seignior* against the Conduct of that *Minister*, appear'd to him so plausible, that he promis'd *Tekeli* his Protection, and gave him his word, that he would never forsake him. The *Count* for his part fail'd not to give hope, that with the Assistance of the *Port*, he would restore Matters into so good a Condition, that he should give the *Emperor* more trouble than ever. The *Grand Seignior*, after having caus'd *Carra Mustapha* to be put to Death, nam'd in his Place *Ibrahim*, who before had been *Caimacan*. This new *Vizier* after he had a long time consulted with the other Ministers of the *Port*, was of Opinion to make Peace with the *Emperor*; but the *Grand Seignior*, as they assure us, was so opposite to this, whether

whether because of his word pass'd
to *Tekeli*, or for any other Reason,
that he followed the contrary Opi-
nion, which was for his continuing
the War.

The End of the Second Book.



MEMOIRES

FOR THE

L I F E

O F

Emeric, Count Teckely.

BOOK III.

*Containing the History of what arrived
to him from the Year 1684, to the
Year 1687.*

T*Teckely* being returned into *Hun-*
gary, immediately saw the Ef-
fects of the Grand-Signor's
Promises, in that the Bassa's of
the Neighbouring Cities sent to offer
him what Assistance he should have oc-
A a a cation

casion for. The Emperor, on his side, set out an Act of Oblivion, in the beginning of the Year 1684, wherein he gave an Assurance, 1st. To re-establiſh all thoſe who had born Arms againſt his Service, in their Honours, and in their Eſtates, which ſhould not be forfeited. 2^d. That they who formerly poſſeſſed Employments, ſhould be indemniſied for the Loſs of their Poſts, which had been conferred upon others. 3^d. That Orders ſhould be exhibited for maintaining Officers and Souldiers, by diſperſing them into the Garifons of *Hungary*. The Declaration alſo purpoſed, That from the 15th of *February*, thoſe Malecontents that would return to their Duty, ſhould find the Emperor's Commiſſioners at *Preſbourg*, ready to accept their Oaths, and to hear their Remonſtrances, in order to give an Account thereof to the Imperial Council, which would not forget to afford them Satisfaction. At laſt it threatned thoſe, who would not enjoy the benefit of this General Pardon, with the ſevereſt Rigours that have been accuſtomed to be practiſed againſt obſtinate Rebels.

This Declaration, which would have been laugh'd at before the Turks had been defeated, produced ſome effect amongſt People fatigued with ſo long a War,

War, and from which they did not see how they could disengage themselves with Honour. The Barons *Baragozzi* were of the first, who thought upon deserting the Party of the Male-contents; and the eldest of this Family withdrew himself into the Castle of *Zakwar*, which belonged to him, with three hundred *Hussars*. The Count *Humanai*, who had been deputed to the King of *Poland*, and the Duke of *Lorrain*, did the same, and fixed himself in his Castle of *Ungwar*, where he thought himself secure. They were suddenly to be followed by the two young Barons *Baragozzi*, by *Andrew Schemiski*, *Francis Clobai*, and *Stephen Maskai*; but *Teckely* having been advised of their Design, made them to be apprehended, and the Council of War condemned them to lose their Heads. This was the first rigorous Example that was made of those who abandoned the Party. The Necessity of preventing the dangerous Consequence of those Desertions, which would have been too frequent, obliged the Heads of the Male-contents to use severely those who committed this Fault, of what Quality soever. In effect, the Design was not then so much to make War against the Emperor, as it was to obtain of him the Observation of the Laws, and afterwards to restore themselves to his

Obedience: It was high-time to act evenly, and to exercise a severe Discipline in the Army, in order to frame a Body, whereof all the Members were to conquer or perish together. *Teckely* had a mind, in consequence of this Resolution, to go and force *Baragozzi* in his Castle; but the Count of *Rabara* being come to his Assistance, he turned his Arms against *Ungwar*, which surrendred at Discretion, after three days Resistance. *Humanai*, who was within it, was brought to *Cassovia*, where he lost his Head.

These Severities stop'd the Course of the Desertions, as well as two considerable Omissions in the General Pardon; whereof one was Liberty of Conscience, and the other, the Security of Privileges. These two Articles being the only Cause of the War, those who loved the Freedom of their Country, more than their Ease, could not induce themselves to lay down their Arms, without obtaining what they demanded thereupon.

Teckely being unable to procure a Truce for this Winter, made the Imperialists repent of it, by the perpetual Incursions and Undertakings he made against them. He attacked *Michelsdorf*, where the King of *Poland* had left three hundred *Lithuanians* in Winter-quarters. He made himself Master of it, killed part of these *Lithuanians*,

ithuanians, and made the rest Prisoners of War. The Troops of *Poland*, who had made great Marches to come into *Hungary*, seeing that instead of reposing themselves during Winter, it was necessary to be engaging with the Male-contents at all moments, and to be satisfied with a very small matter, by reason of the Indigence which reigned in the Places where they were; these Troops, I say, deserted every day, which obliged the King of *Poland* to recal them. Besides, this Prince had no Interest in exterminating entirely the Male-contents, to render the Emperor absolute Master in *Hungary*, without any one's, but the House of *Austria*, receiving any Advantage by it. These Troops were no sooner withdrawn, but *Teckely* seized upon their Quarters, and fixed there a Party of his own.

The *Turks*, on their side, acted with more Vigor than was imagined, and for all they had been repulsed in several places, they did not fail to besiege and take, in the Month of *March*, *Lentsch*, wherein was the Regiment of *Grana*, and a hundred Horse of *Caraffa's*. This General, having been too remiss in hastning to the Succour of this Place, received Advice of its being carried, as he was marching on that side with some Troops. *Debrezen*, which the *Turks* had vainly attempted to

win some time before, now underwent the same destiny. *Teckely*, in the mean time, got all that is about the Cities of the Mountains, and made Contributions be paid to him in all Places that he could not conveniently hold. In these Movements, the Imperialists, commanded by Colonel *Heusler*, defeated also a Detachment of five hundred of his Men, whom he had appointed as a Conduct of *Petrozzi*; altho the Advantage was generally on the side of the Male-contents.

Judging themselves now to be in a Condition of obtaining something with the Emperor, they sent to entreat the King of *Poland* again to intervene in this Affair, and consented, if he thought fit, to acknowledge him for Mediator. The King of *Poland* having received them favourably enough, offered his Mediation to the Emperor to reconcile, if it was possible, his Subjects with him: But the Court of *Vienna*, which thought to be soon prepared to expel for-ever the Male-contents from *Hungary*, and to establish a Despotic Power there, would hearken to no sort of Composition. There-upon the King declared, That for the future he would not permit his Troops to be employed against the Male-contents, altho he offered them still to serve against the *Turks*. This Declaration did not displease the

the *Polanders*, who look'd upon it as a thing of ill Presage to them, that *Hungary* should become Hereditary, and that it should be no longer permitted to talk of Laws and Privileges there. It is known that the *Grandeess* of this Kingdom are very jealous of their Liberties, and particularly of the Right they have to choose their Kings; and in this Disposition perhaps they had done better to joyn themselves entirely to the *Malecontents*, in order to oblige the Emperor to grant them Peace, and to render themselves Promoters of the Treaty, than to assist the Emperor to make himself absolute.

About this time an Artifice was employed more than ever in *Hungary*, which has succeeded many times to destroy Parties composed of Persons of different Religions. To disingage the *Catholicks* from the *Protestants*, the *Imperialists* said every where, that it was nothing but a War of Religion that was made; and that if the *Catholicks*, who had no occasion to demand Liberty of Conscience, submitted themselves to the Emperor, they would obtain whatsoever they desired. Under a Pretext that *Teckely* had put to death the Count *Humanai*, and some *Catholick* Lords, they endeavoured to perswade those of this Religion, that the Head of the *Malecontents* did labour insensibly to

destroy it, and that if he was ever the Master, he would not endure it. These Discourses, wherein was observed something of appearance, were capable of seducing a world of Persons, if so be they had not been opposed by some Declaration of Lustre, and which was generally dispersed. 'Tis this engaged *Teckely* to write a Letter to his Holiness, dated the 12th of *April*, whose Contents are as follow.

He said that in the Year 1683, he had declared to *Saponara*, Envoy to his Imperial Majesty, that he was ready to put an end, as far as his Power extended, to the Civil War of *Hungary*, if he might obtain certain Conditions which he demanded, provided that the King and States of *Poland* were Guarantees of the Treaty; That finding himself absolutely denied, he had been obliged to tie himself more strongly than before to the Interests of the Port; That he had entred into this Engagement, not that he had not as much Zeal as any one for the Christian Religion, but because he saw most clearly, that the Emperonr excluding the *Hungarians* from the Defence of their Country, he could not possibly be in a State of opposing the *Ottoman* Puissance: That he could not reasonably be treated as a Rebel, since he had not taken up Arms to deprive the
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King of *Hungary* of his due, but only to preserve to his Country those Privileges which had been allowed it before the House of *Austria* had a foot therein. That his Holiness might consult thereupon the Letters of King *Andrew II*, which were in the Records of the *Vatican*: That before he came to take up Arms he had seen his Estate confiscated and pillaged, as well as an infinite number of Catholick Gentlemen, to whom was appointed incompetent Judges to condemn them to Death or Banishment, without having any regard to the usual Formalities of Justice: That *George Leppaz*, Archbishop of *Strigonium*, had used the same Instances with them, for the Observation of those Privileges which the Emperor had solemnly sworn to keep firm at his coming to the Crown. That all these Complaints had been unsuccessful, and were rejected with Disdain by the German Counsellors of his Imperial Majesty: But as for him he had never inclined towards the Destruction of the Catholick Religion in *Hungary*, nor would. In a word, that he aimed at nothing else, in respect of Religion, but to preserve the Freedom granted by the Laws and Diets before the Reign of *Leopold* to the Protestants of *Hungary*, without designing to touch upon the Rights of the Catholicks.

The *Turks* advanced in the beginning of *June* new Troops towards *Buda*, under the Command of *Kara Hussian Oglou*, who had been made Grand Vizier, but having marched too slowly, the Duke of *Lorrain* prevented him. About the 16th of the Month he went to attack *Vicegrad*, which is below the *Gran*, to hinder the *Turks* from relieving *Neubanzel* by removing farther off their Frontiers on this side. He won the City the very Evening of the Day he arrived there, and the Castle surrendered the next day after, having made an appearance of a Defensive Resolution. In the mean time a Detachment of *Turks* fell upon the Baggage which had been left near *Strigonium*, in order to march with more Expedition, but they were repulsed, and the Imperial Army, which was before *Vicegrad*, had nothing but the fear of having lost it. The Castle was found to be absolutely unprovided of Ammunition and Provision, which had proceeded from the Confusion which the Death of the Vizier had introduced into Affairs. There was also a Battel near *Weitzen* about the end of the Month, between the Imperial Army, which had repassed to the other side of the *Danube*, and a considerable Body of *Turks*, who were defeated, and constrained to retire to *Buda* in Confusion after a loss of five or six hundred Men.

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After that *Weitzen*, a small Place which is upon the Northern Arm of the *Danube*, in that place where it forms the Isle of *St. Andrew*, was attack'd so unexpectedly, that five hundred *Turks* who were therein surrendered at Discretion. From thence they marched straight on to *Pest*, which the Garison abandoned after having set fire to it, and ruined the Fortifications. The Garison retired to *Buda*, and as soon as the Army appeared, some *Fanizaries* that were left to guard the Bridge of Boats which were there, broke it down before they could obstruct them. They endeavoured to extinguish the Conflagration of *Pest*, and left some Troops there to repair the Fortifications that remained, because this Post might be of advantage in case there was any thought of undertaking the Siege of *Buda*. But those who had been left there were so incommoded some days following by the Cannon of *Buda*, that it was necessary to withdraw them from thence. After that they made a Bridge of Boats over against the Isle of *St. Andrew*, over which the Army having passed upon the 10th of *July*, it gained a considerable Advantage upon some Turkish Troops who came to engage it without knowing the whole Imperial Army was there.

Four days after it marched to *Buda*, a famous City, in that it has been the Residence of the ancient Kings of *Hungary*, and for two or three Sieges it had sustained against the Christians without being taken, since *Solyman* became Master of it in 1541. It was notwithstanding but ill fortified, being flanked with none but old Towers without any Bastions, in so much that nothing but a powerful Garison could render the taking difficult to a General provided with Conveniencies, and dexterous in the Art of besieging Towns. It was at that time filled with all sorts of Ammunition, and defended by a Garison of eight thousand Men commanded by five Bassas. Nevertheless they did not think it proper to persevere in holding the lower Town, which they set on fire as soon as they were besieged, in order to retire into the upper one, which is supported by a good Castle, and is much more easy to defend. During the first days of this Siege, the Imperialists got three considerable Advantages upon the Turks. The *Croats* defeated fifteen hundred Men near *Wirowitz*, and four hundred as they returned from this Defeat; and the greatest part of the Imperial Army being gone out of its Lines, beat, a few days after, a Turkish Army of twenty thousand Men, who were encamped some Leagues from *Buda*
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in order to relieve the Place if it was possible, or to incommode the Imperialists during the Siege, and to cover the rest of *Hungary*. The *Turks* at the same time sustained great Losses in *Croatia*, and the Malecontents were disadvantage'd in divers places.

But as the Imperialists could not conquer in so many parts, nor besiege several places long without losing a world of Men, the Army which besieged *Buda* could receive no considerable Succour from the rest, and without Succour it durst not attempt a general Assault, altho it was possessed of almost all the Outworks of the Place. This Army had already lost in the beginning of *August* near eight thousand Men, either in Battels, or in the Siege, or else by Sicknefs. It had not Ammunition enough, nor Provision, nor Fodder. *Kara Mehemet* Bassa of *Buda*, was one of the best Officers of the Turkish Empire, and made all possible Resistance. The whole Garison was likewise fixed upon defending the Place to extremity, and fatigued the Imperial Army by vigorous Sallies. Altho there were considerable Breaches made, the *Turks* were intrenched and pallisado'd behind, because the Imperialists were not in a condition to take the advantage of it quick enough. Notwithstanding *Kara Mehemet* was killed with

with a Cannon Bullet, which took off his Thigh, the rest did not lose their Courage thereupon, in hopes of being speedily relieved by the Serafquier, who marched in the place of the Visier. The Besiegers lost every moment Persons of note, and several of the chief Officers were sick or wounded. The Duke of *Lorrain* himself was taken with a Fever, and the Count of *Rabata* was commanded to come and assist him in the Functions of General, which he could not discharge with sufficient Exactness, by reason of his Indisposition.

The Imperial Army being in this Condition, the Elector of *Bavaria* arrived with his Troops the ninth of *September*; and his Arrival was extreamly necessary to revive the Hearts of the Souldiers. He gave Directions for the raising of new Batteries, and disposed all things for vigorous Assaults: but it is said, that they employed not in this Siege all the Art that is necessary in these Encounters, and which is of more Service than the number of Souldiers, and all imaginable Vigour. The Bombs and Carcasses were not in sufficient quantity, nor the Artillery well enough prepared. The Engineers in too small number, and perhaps as little experienced, as they were rarely paid, were but a moderate Assistance. They were almost

constrained to win the Place, if one may say so, by force of Arms, in which the *Turks* are not inferiour to the *Germans*. In the mean time *Zouglan* Serafquier, had an Opportunity of throwing Succours into the Place three times, in spite of the German Army; whose Lines were either not well made, or not well enough guarded. It is also said, That the Duke of *Lorrain* having attempted to engage him more than once to a Battel, he had the address to get away, without engaging, after he had accomplished his Will. At length the Christian Army, after having lost a world of Men, not only by the Fights it had sustained, but also by Want and ill Weather, was obliged to raise the Siege about the middle of *November*. It was feared that the Serafquier would have attacked it in its Retreat; but it had time to make one, without being pursued, and without leaving any thing except some dismounted Cannon, which they took care to bury lest the *Turks* should make use of them. The Serafquier had Troops enough, as it is reported; and committed a considerable Fault by not setting upon this Army in its Retreat; which being so fatigued as it was, could not have held out before him, according to all appearance. He contented himself with sending the *Tartars* into the Isle of *St. Andrew*, where they

they killed some distemper'd Souldiers; and chose rather to follow the Maxim of those, who say, that one should make a Bridge of Gold for his Enemies, rather than hazard his Army against Men, who perhaps would fight like desperate Persons.

Whilst the Duke of *Lorraine* was employed in the Siege of *Buda*, General *Schultz* made War upon the Male-contents in *Upper-Hungary*, with a small Body of an Army, and much more Success. He took in the Month of *September*, *Seben*, a little City at two Leagues distance from *Eperies*, where he made the Garison, which *Teckely* had thrown in a day before, Prisoners of War; the Inhabitants having surrendred in spite of it, by reason of the Inconvenience which the Bombs had caus'd them. The *Hungarians* of this Garison were cut in pieces by *Baragozzi*, who accused *Teckely* of having impaled some Officers of his Regiment; and who was incensed against all the Party, upon the account of the Death of his two Brothers. *Zeban*, which *Teckely* thought would have resisted longer, being taken; *Schultz* ordered every one of his Horse-men to take a Foot-Souldier behind him, and marched upon the 17th of *September*, in the night, directly to the Camp of *Teckely*; where being arrived by break of day, he set upon him with so much Expedition, that he had

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not time to call his Troops to Arms, nor to put himself in a Condition of defence, as he might easily have done, if he had been advertised. *Teckely* thought that the surest way, in this occasion, was to abandon his Baggage and his Ammunition to the *Germans*, who would amuze themselves by pillaging, instead of following him. And it happened so ; the *Germans*, who had marched in the night, being glad to find where-withal to refresh themselves in the Camp of the Male-contents. General *Schultz* advanced, notwithstanding, the same day, the Cannon which he had found in the Camp of *Teckely*, against *Eperies*, whose Fortifications were as yet unfinished : but *Teckely* having rallied his Men some Leagues from thence, sent back forthwith two thousand Men, who entred in the Place. The General was constrained to turn upon another side ; and took, without much resistance, *Barsfeld*, and the Castles of *Stropho*, *Makowitz*, and *Donawitz*. The Army which *Teckely* had then, was too small to keep the field, and the greatest part of his Troops were in Garison in divers important Places. The Burgesses of Cities not being very well affected to the Party, or wanting Courage, did not oppose the Imperial Troops, when they had left them the Care of their defence ; and they held not Men enough to furnish

furnish all the Cities they had a mind to hold; and to form, at the same time, a Body of an Army able to undertake something.

The *Turks*, after the Imperial Army was gone, made several Incursions towards *Vicegrad* and *Grana*; nevertheless, without attempting any thing considerable: but upon the other Bank of the *Danube*, they took *Weitzen*, whose Garison was for the most part cut in pieces, notwithstanding they had capitulated. As the Garison of *Newhausel* extremely incommoded all the Neighbourhood, and that it had been vainly attempted to take *Buda*, at the end of the Campaign the Imperialists formed the Blockade of *Newhausel*, to obstruct all entrance of Succours and Provisions, with a Design to besiege this Place in the beginning of the following Campaign.

The Imperial Troops took their Winter-Quarters in *Hungary*, and upon the Frontiers of *Austria*; Lands that had been but little cultivated since the *Turks* and *Christians* had made a havock therein, in emulation of one another. So that amongst the various Hardships they endured there, Famine was the greatest. The Souldiers dispossessed the Country-People of the small Provisions which they had

had left, and many of these unhappy Wretches were obliged to go to *Buda*, and to other Places of the Turks, to endeavour to get Bread. The Governour of *Buda* received a good number of them, whom he put to repair the Fortifications of the Place.

The Troops of General *Schultz* suffered, like the rest, in *Upper-Hungary*, which was not less havock'd than the *Lower*; insomuch, that he was obliged to retire near *Eperies*, where he posted himself in order to attempt the obtaining of the City, by incommoding the Garison. *Teckely* being advised of his Retreat, pursued him in haste, and entirely defeated his Rear. *Schultz* had Orders after that, to support the Blockade of *Newhansel*, and had some Horse appointed to him, to prevent any entrance therein. But *Teckely* having a Charge from the Grand-Signor to victual the Place, he attended the Convoy, with three thousand Horse, and threw therein, in spite of *Schultz*, three hundred Chariots of Provisions, and three hundred Horse-men, who carried each a Sack of Meal behind him. Some days after there entred a second Convoy, which brought above two thousand Sacks of Meal. In the beginning of *February* the Turks attempted to put other Necessaries in the Town for its Defence; but they

they were twice repulsed with loss, by the Imperialists. A few days after, *Teckely* having, unawares, assaulted General *Schultz*, who had beat the Turks, he killed 900 of his Men, and took all his Baggage, which he brought off with 400 Prisoners. Thus he revenged the Affront, which t'other had given him near *Eperies*, and also routed a Bayarian Regiment, which was in Quarters at *Neudorf*; after which, he introduced, in safety, a Convoy within *Newhausel*. In vain did *Schultz* pretend to become Master of the Castle of *Ungwar*; he was obliged to retire after he had sustained some loss. But Colonel *Hensler* beat several Parties of the Turks, retook *Weitzen*, and put the Garison to the Sword; but being unable to undertake to keep the Place, nor to carry off the Ammunition which he found therein, he set fire to it.

In the beginning of *May*, *Schultz* returned before *Ungwar* to endeavour to obtain his Revenge. He took in five days the lower Town, made a vigorous Attack upon the Castle, and rendred himself Master of some Works, but not without loss. A Party of the Troops of the Malecontents being advanced to succour the Place, he went to meet them, and gave them a Defeat; but as he returned, and made no question of winning this Castle
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in few days, he had Advice that *Teckely* came forward with a considerable Body : He did not think himself in a Condition to attend him, and rather chose to leave his Cannon, than to be surprized.

The Duke of *Lorrain* at length took the Field with the Forces of the Emperor, which amounted to 24 or 25000 Men, and with the Troops of the Empire, ought to make an Army of 60000. After having considered some time whether he should besiege *Novigrad*, and after that, march to *Buda*, as it had been projected before the Campaign, he determined upon the Siege of *Newhausel*, and went to encamp before the Place upon the 16th of *July*. He pressed it with as much Vigour, as the German Armies are accustomed to attack any place ; but the Turks did not defend themselves ill, and there passed above a Month before they had hopes of reducing the Garison to capitulate. This gave the *Serasquier* an Opportunity of advancing with an Army of 60000 Men, on t'other side of the *Danube*, to take *Vicegrad*, and form the Siege of *Gran*. The Duke of *Lorrain* having notice of it, and fearing lest the *Serasquier* should obtain it in few days, and then come upon him with all his Troops, resolved, after some Consultations, to go and assault him before the Imperial Army was more fatigued, than

than it was by the Siege of *Newhausel*. He left before the Place a sufficient number of Troops to repulse the Efforts of the Garison, whilst the rest of the Army was absent, and to advance the Works as much as possible.

Upon the 8th of *August* he passed the *Danube* at *Comora*, upon two Bridges, and his Army advanced towards *Gran* in order of Battel. The next day he met the Commander of *Vicegrad*, with 70 Soldiers, who had surrendred after 12 days Resistance. The 11th he arrived in sight of *Gran*, and the Turks, informed of his March, after having raised the Siege upon the 10th, and sent their great Baggage to *Buda*, went to meet him, under the Conduct of the *Serasquier*. The Duke of *Lorrain*, being advised of the raising of the Siege, did not cease to send Relief to *Gran*, in case the Turks should recommence the Siege a-new. In the mean time, having learn'd that the *Serasquier* had an Army of above 60000 Men, and approached with a Design to fight the Christian Army, who were not above 40000; he resolved to withdraw to a place, where the two Wings being covered on one side by the *Danube*, and on the other by the Mountains, he might engage without apprehension of being involved. The Imperialists arrived there
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the 16th, and put themselves in order of Battel, in expectation of the Turks, who had not failed to pursue them as soon as they found they had dislodged. Having rank'd themselves in battel Array at their leisure, by reason of a Mist that arose at Day-break, and which entirely kept them from the sight of the Turks, they received these last, who pursued them as if they had fled, with so much Firmness and Order, that they could never discompose them, altho they came several times to the Charge. The Christian Army having thus escaped their first Fury, began to charge them in its turn, in advancing a little, and thundring much more violent upon them than before. The Turks were soon after in disorder, notwithstanding the Serafquier, (who was wounded in performing excellently his Duty) did all that was possible to prevent it. At length they fled towards their Camp, beyond a Marsh, which covered them upon one side. They stopt a little in this Post, but not imagining themselves secure there, because they had filled up part of the Marsh, in order to pursue the Christian Army, they marched on further, after they had taken away all they could in their Camp as they passed. The Christians, who marched in order, for fear the Turks rallying should suddenly come and fall up-

on them, advanced to the Marsh, and afterwards entred the Camp of the Turks, where they found their Artillery, and a good quantity of Ammunition.

Whilst the Army of the Duke of *Lorraine* was beating the Turks, the Count *Caprara* press'd *Newhausel* more and more. The Garison being reduced from 3000 to 1700 Men, the Commander dead of his Wounds, and divers other Officers likewise killed or wounded, the Place was taken by Assault the 19th of *August*.

The Forces of the Turks being all employed on the other side of the *Danube*, in the *Lower-Hungary*, or in *Croatia*, where Count *Lesle* got several Advantages over them, which we don't intend to recite; *Teckely*, in vain, demanded Succour of the *Serasquier*. That was the cause of the taking of *Eperies*, whose Fortifications were as yet unfinished. General *Schultz* took it by Composition upon the 11th of *August*, 22 days after the Trenches were opened. The Capitulation was, That the Commander, who was a German, and had served in the Quality of Colonel in the Troops of *Brandenburgh*, should be received in those of the Emperor: That the German Souldiers should have the same Advantage: That the Hungarians might likewise enter into the same Troops, or retire where they pleased, after having received

received a Month's Pay from the Magistrates of *Eperies*: That the Citizens should enjoy the same Liberty of Conscience, which the Emperor had allowed to other Cities that had returned to their Obedience: That the Nobility should remain unmolested in their Estates, after having sworn a new Oath of Fidelity to the Emperor: That the Magistrates should retain their Offices, and that a general Pardon should be given for all that is past. This Capitulation, wherein every Body was equally included, declared enough that there was a Weariness of holding for a Party, which every day became more weak. *Peterhafi*, one of the chief Male-contents, came some Weeks after to the Camp of *Schultz* to surrender himself, with six hundred Men, in order to enjoy the Benefit of the Act of Oblivion; to which he was immediately received. After that, the *Serasquier* thought only upon separating his Troops, and to fix them in those places which he judged to be most exposed. He sent some to *Agria* and *Esseck*, which the Imperialists had begun to attack. The Baron de *Merci*, began also with some Regiments the Blockade of *Agria*, altho he had much ado to subsist about this Place; the *Bassa* having cut off or spoil'd all the Forage, in the apprehension of a Siege.

The Turks being in pain for themselves, did not consider *Teckely*, who, in the weak Circumstances he was in, suffered *Tokai* to be taken with some other Places of small note.

About the end of *September*, the Count *Caprara* was dispatch'd with new Recruits to command the Army of Upper *Hungary* in the place of *Schultz*. He marched directly to *Cassovia*, and invested it the second of *October*, without being able notwithstanding to prevent the Counts of *Astrowitz* and some others from throwing themselves in it with Troops. They made a very vigorous Resistance immediately, and found themselves in a condition of holding out a good while; but *Teckely* who had a Body of 7 or 8000 Men only, was not in a state of relieving it, and feared with reason that it would be taken, if not supported. He had a long time demanded Succors of the Bassa of *Great Waradin*, to maintain himself against the Imperial Army, without receiving any; and he redoubled his Instances as soon as *Cassovia* was besieged. The Bassa replied, that he could undertake nothing without the express Orders of the Grand Signior, which he expected every day. A little while after he sent to inform *Teckely*, that he had received Orders with positive Commands to discover them to none but him,

him, and that he pray'd him to repair to *Waradin*, in order to confer together. Thereupon *Teckely* accompanied with his Army, advanced that way with *Petrozzi* and his chief Officers. The Bassa came to meet them, and invited them into the City, which they entred at the Discharge of all the Artillery. The Army encamp'd about the Place, whilst the Officers were regaled by the Bassa who was extreemly civil to them. But at the conclusion of the Feast, when *Teckely* expected to enter into a private Conference, certain Janizaries came into the Room with Chains, wherewith they bound him by the Direction of the Bassa, who said he had received this Order from the Port. As for the other Officers, he civilly sent them back to their Troops, and told *Petrozzi* that he might put himself at the Head of them, and conduct Affairs till new Orders. In all appearance the Serafquier, or some other Turkish Officer had accused *Teckely*, to justify himself in the sense of the Grand Signior, whom the ill Fortune of the War had incens'd against his Generals, as if it had been by their fault that the Imperialists had obtained so many Advantages, and taken so many Places. It seem'd that if *Teckely* had discharged his Duty as he should, he must have made a greater Diversion of the Imperial

Troops, and they have gained considerably less.

The unseasonableness of the ill Policy of the Turks had like to have ruined entirely the Malecontents Party, and really brought it a Prejudice which it could never since repair. *Petrozzi*, either frightened at the Imprisonment of *Teckely*, or else weary of the Fatigues of War, disposed the Officers and Troops which he commanded, to accept the general Pardon which the Emperor offered to those who would embrace his Party. This Body being without a Head, and not knowing what course to take without the Assistance of the Turks, was easily perswaded; and Deputies were sent in his Name to *Caprara*, to know if he would receive him. *Caprara* joyfully received them all, and engaged himself to let them enjoy the general Pardon, after which they all repaired to his Camp. They took a new Oath of Fidelity, and those who had a mind to be concerned in the Emperor's Troops, remain'd there. The Garison of *Cassovia* understanding how things were carried, judged Count *Teckely* to be absolutely lost, and followed their Example. The Conditions of its Surrender were almost the same with those of *Eperies*. They likewise seized upon other Places of *Hungary*, whereof the Malecontents were possess'd,

possess'd, and they found in *Zolnock* a considerable quantity of Provisions.

About the same time the Imperialists sent *Petrozzi* with a Convoy to *Mongatz* to let the Princess, the Wife of *Teckely*, know what had befallen her Husband, and to dispose her to resign this Fortres to the Emperor, and also that of *Patack*, which she still maintained, since at last there was no possibility of saving her Husband, nor re-establishing the Party. She answered, that she could not believe her Husband had been seized on; and that if so be he was advanced into the Turkish Territories, it was only to consult of Measures with the Grand Signior for the ensuing Campaign. Upon this Reply *Patack* was assaulted, which was taken in a few days, and they began the Blockade of *Mongatz*.

1686. In the beginning of the following Year, the Princess published Letters, as dated from *Belgrade* by her Husband, wherein he observed to her that his Innocence had been acknowledged at the Port, and that a Bassa, who had accused him, and arrested him without Order, was condemned to give him Reparation of Honour. He added, that he only waited for the new Serasquier, in order to take the Field with him, and that he would soon raise the Bloekade of *Mongatz*, exhorting his Wife to hearken to no Proposals of Peace.

Whether these Letters were real or no, it is certain that the Turks were soon convinced of the fault they had committed, in arresting the Head of the Malecontents at so dangerous a Conjunction; and instead of misusing him, he was set at Liberty, to see whether they could act with Success, under his means against the Imperialists.

Caprara about this time wrote a Letter to the Princess, and represented to her, that in the Extremity to which the Affairs of the Party were reduced, the Count her Husband being arrested by the Turks, and the greatest part of the Malecontents returned to their Duty, it was time for her likewise to indemnify her self with her Family, in having recourse to the Mercy of the Emperor. She answered, that she was not of opinion, that she had offered this Prince any occasion of making War against her; and that being Guardian to those Children she had had by the Prince *Ragotski*, she was obliged to preserve to them, as much as possibly she could, the Places which had appertained to their Father: That it was no occasion of surprize to find a Mother defending the Rights of her Children, or a Wife not declaring against her Husband. That what was affirmed of his Imprisonment, was nothing but a Fiction, since he would appear

appear the following Campaign : In short, that there was no Reputation for those who used their Endeavours to dispossess Orphans, and to force a Castle defended by a Woman. *Caprara* thereupon disposed himself to the Siege of *Mongatz* which required much time, this Place being seated upon a very high Rock, steep on all sides, and hardly to be reduced but by Famine. It is upon the River *Torza*, between *Ungwar* and *Zathmar*, and has above three hundred Towns in its Jurisdiction.

The Turks continuing to make little Progress in their Affairs, soon after had a sense of the Disadvantage they had given themselves by the apprehension of *Teckely*, not only by the weakning of the whole Party of Malecontents, but also by the taking of *Lippa*, a City between the River *Maros*, the *Teys* and the *Danube*, where they had great Magazines. This City being secured by a River and *Great Waradin*, appeared to be out of danger ; but the Imperial Horse, being accompanied with *Hungarians*, to whom this Country was perfectly known, and having nothing to fear elsewhere, advanced so far, and gain'd all the Ammunition and Provisions that were found therein. The neighbouring *Bassa's* were sensible then more than ever, that *Teckely* was much more necessa-

ry to them than they had imagined, and made haste to put him in a condition of commencing the Campaign as soon as possible, and to recollect once again the Friends he still retained in *Hungary*. In the mean time he composed a Discourse directed to the *Hungarians*, which he sent by one of his Domesticks, who had continued with him; and coming from *Belgrade* to *Tamiszwaer*, dispersed from thence a great number of its Copies in *Hungary*. This Piece being important, and containing all the Subjects of Complaints which the *Hungarians* had against the Emperor, and what they replied to the Accusations of the Imperialists, better than any other extant, it shall be inserted here intire.

The Discourse of Count Teckely, containing the Reasons which the Hungarians have to take up Arms against the Emperor.

“ **Y**E People of *Hungary*, you are suddenly to see me in the Field, in order to defend your oppressed Liberty :
 “ Unite all your Minds, and join your Arms, to concur with me in so laudable

" a Design. The Em-
 " peror offers to you
 " an Act of Oblivion,
 " but be careful how
 " you are seduced by
 " this imposing Charm.
 " To accept a Pardon,
 " is to acknowledg a
 " Guilt where there is
 " none.

The French King
 should have dare well
 to reflect on his own
 Actions at home, and
 those of another Prince,
 before he had thus ex-
 posed the Emperor's
 Proceedings in Hun-
 gary; however he may
 expect we will consi-
 der them.

" You may have recourse to Force, to
 " defend your Privileges, without being
 " accused, with Justice, of Rebellion. 'Tis
 " what *Andrew* the Second has observed
 " by his Declaration, whose Terms in-
 " form you, that 'tis for the *Palatins* to
 " support your Freedom. But what Assi-
 " stance can you expect from thence, if
 " he is Stranger, as have been under the
 " precedent Reigns the *Suoudis*, the *Mans-*
 " *fields*, the *Bastes*, the *Tranbauers*, and
 " the *Buquois*? And what Protection can
 " you hope for from Bishops, if Prelacies
 " are only conferred upon the *Germans*?
 " How should the Nobles dare to under-
 " take, if the Governments of the most
 " important Places of the Kingdom are
 " in the Hands of Persons devoted to the
 " House of *Austria*, and Strangers to your
 " Nation? Have not your Ancestors seen
 " those of *Waradin* and *Javarin* commit-
 " ted to *Pucchain Lesle*, and *Montecuculi*,

“ and that of *Cassovia* to *Taußembach*, and
“ *Beljoyeuse*? Have not you your selves
“ still fresh in Memory the Barbarities
“ which have been exercised in their Go-
“ vernments by *Sporks*, the *Spaniards*, and
“ the *Kops*?

“ It is true, that we have seen under
“ this Reign Count *Wesselini* invested with
“ the Charge of Palatin of the Kingdom:
“ but how long was it left vacant after his
“ Death, because it was observed this ge-
“ neral Count had concerted the Design
“ of defending your Liberty? It is true;
“ that this Dignity has been since confer-
“ red upon a *Hungarian*, but it proceeded
“ from an Observation of my being armed
“ to maintain your Privileges. They have
“ been seen to be re-established, when *Ste-*
“ *phen Boskai*, *Gabriel Betlem*, and *George*
“ *Ragotski*, demanded at the Head of an
“ Army, the performance of the Decla-
“ rations granted by your first Kings, and
“ whereof their Successors had sworn the
“ Observation at their coming to the
“ Crown. But how long have these Re-
“ gulations endured? As long as they
“ who had obtained them, have been in a
“ condition to preserve you in those Li-
“ berties which they had procured you.

“ Why should *Vienna* delivered, *Gran*
“ and *Newhausel* re-taken, make you sus-
“ pect the Circumstances of the Turks?

“ The

“ The Vigor with which they defended
“ *Buda* last Campaign, ought to convince
“ you of their Forces. What the Em-
“ peror can oppose against them, can’t
“ be supposed very considerable; and one
“ may say that his Funds for the Payment
“ of his Army are but ill assured. If the
“ present Pope should shut up his Purse,
“ or after him another should succeed of
“ less Zeal for Religion, should you not
“ see this great Body disperse it self for
“ want of Maintenance? Can you em-
“ bark your selves upon so weak a Vessel,
“ which is in danger of being split against
“ the least Rock it encounters? Let the
“ *Venetians* cease to divert a part of the
“ Ottoman Forces in the *Morea*, let the
“ *Poles* be weary of disputing a Passage with
“ the *Tartars*; Let the Pope withdraw
“ his Succours, can you expect not to be
“ the Victims of your own Credulity, and
“ the first crush’d in pieces by the formi-
“ dable Power of an Enemy, who reigns
“ in three parts of the World?

“ You cannot fix any Confidence in the
“ word of a Prince, who is incessantly
“ besieged by certain Persons, who re-
“ ferring all things to their Passions, and
“ not knowing what it is to govern People,
“ concern themselves in what they do not
“ understand. They endeavour to per-
“ swade the King, that one may without
“ breach.

breach of Duty, infringe all the Engagements taken with Rebels. If they had well perused St. *Austin*, they would have seen, that this Father of the Church is of a contrary Opinion, when he says to *Bonifacio*, in the 105th. Epistle; *Fides supremum rerum humanarum vinculum est, sacra laus fides inter hostes*; Faith is the supream Bond of humane Societies; and its greatest Commendation is, that it ought to be inviolably observed even amongst Enemies. To which agrees, the Disposition of the Roman Law, in the 5th. Law in the *Digest. de Pactis*; where it is said, that *Pactum pacis ligat*; All Covenants of Peace oblige. Take care of experiencing the Misfortune of the Bohemians, who laying down their Arms in 1621, upon the Faith of a general Pardon, saw themselves dispossessed of their Estates, and the chiet of them brought to punishment, like infamous Offenders.

But why should I seek Examples amongst our Neighbours, when you have a fresh one amongst your selves? That innocent Blood, which the Hangmen have spilled, still reaks and calls to you for Vengeance. Is it not upon the Faith of these fallacious Treaties, and those deluding Pardons, that the Protectors of your Liberties have brought.

“ brought their Heads upon a Scaffold ?
“ But who are these Heroes, that have
“ been treated like vile Criminals ? Why
“ *Francis Nadaski*, Count of *Fergarats* ;
“ who by his transcendent Qualities, had
“ been esteemed worthy of entring into
“ the Senate, before the Age appointed
“ by the Laws ; who had exercised the
“ Charge of Judg. of the Court-Royal,
“ those of Governor of the Counties of
“ *Castle-ferrat*, *Kalo* and *Chemnitz*, Com-
“ mander of the Garisons of *Altsel*, *Lin-*
“ *dau* and *Nemsi* ; who had been made
“ Counsellor of the *Courrick* Council, and
“ Substitute of the Palatin of the King-
“ dom, after the Death of Count *Wess-*
“ *lini*, during the Vacancy of the Charge.
“ 'Tis *Peter de Serini*, Ban of *Dalmatia*,
“ *Slavonia* and *Croatia* ; who in his most
“ tender Youth, jointly with his Brother
“ *Nicholas*, Count *de Serini*, had repulsed
“ the Turks in so glorious a manner, that
“ his Valour had procured him the E-
“ steem of all Neighbouring Nations.
“ 'Tis, in a word, *Francis* of *Terfats*,
“ Count of *Frangipani*, equally illustrious
“ for the Antiquity of his Nobility, and
“ his personal Qualities. All these have
“ perished by relying on their Faith.
“ What Formalities have been observed
“ in their Trials ? Were they condem-
“ ned by their natural Judges, pursuant

“ to the Rights of the Hungarians ? By
“ no means ; They had Commissioners
“ allowed them that were all Strangers,
“ ignorant in our Laws, and devoted to
“ those who were fixed upon their De-
“ struction. Who was chosen to be Pre-
“ sident of this Commission ? *John Count*
“ of *Rothal*, whose inhuman Temper is
“ but too well known, not only in this
“ Kingdom, but also in the Hereditary
“ Lands of the Emperor. These Com-
“ missioners, Did they observe the ac-
“ customed Rules ? Did they hearken to
“ the Accused in their Defences ? Did
“ they confront their Witnesses ? No-
“ thing of the matter ; notwithstanding
“ they pronounced their Sentences upon
“ *Nadaſti*, in *Vienna*, and upon the other
“ two Counts at *Neustad*, upon the 30th
“ of *April* 1671, before they were con-
“ vinced of the Reality of what was al-
“ ledged against them.

“ The Cruelty of the Emperor’s Mini-
“ sters did not stop there : You have seen
“ a Chamber established at *Presburgh*,
“ which has put into the hands of the
“ Executioners, all those whose Estates
“ excited their Avarice, or whose Zeal
“ for the Preservation of your Liberty,
“ gave them any Suspicion. Amongst all
“ these unhappy Persons, you ought in
“ particular to regret *Francis Bonis* ; who
“ had

“ had been the first Assessor of the County
“ of *Zemlin*, whom you have often seen
“ to support, with an unshaken Constancy,
“ the Freedom of his Country, and
“ the Reformed Religion.

“ When King *Leopold*, who reigns at
“ present, would abolish your Privileges,
“ and make you Slaves, he doth but pursue
“ therein the Footsteps of his Ancestors,
“ who have forgot nothing to render the Crown of
“ *Hungary* hereditary to their House. You know that
“ the States of this Kingdom have always enjoyed the
“ Privilege of electing your Kings. One reads in your
“ Histories, that all those who have preceded
“ *Ferdinand* the First, came to the Crown by this
“ means alone; but this Prince, who was the first
“ Hungarian King of the *Austrian* Family, took a
“ Method extreamly different. He transacted
“ with *John Sepusa*, without the Participation of the
“ States, as if one or t^other had the Propriety thereof,
“ and it had been an Inheritance, of which they
“ enjoyed the free and absolute Disposal. In the
“ mean time, you know that your Kings are but the
“ Ufufructuaries of their Dominions. You have
“ taken them to defend you against your Adversaries,
“ and to preserve your Rights. At the moment they contra-
“ dict

“dict them, they have actually and le-
 “gally forfeited the Sovereignty, and
 “you are dispensed from the Oath of
 “Fidelity and Obedience that you have
 “taken to them.

“Notwithstanding, *Ferdinand* was not
 “contented with the Division he had
 “made with *Sepusa*. He compelled this
 “dispossessed Prince to have recourse to
 “*Sigismund* King of *Poland*, and after that
 “to *Solyman*, when he found that he could
 “not support himself by the Assistance of
 “the first. 'Tis this Treaty which has
 “afforded a Pretence to *Ferdinand* and
 “his Successors, to impose upon you that
 “Yoke, under which you have groaned
 “since that time. Their Partisans de-
 “clared, That you had sought the Pro-
 “tection of the Turks against your So-
 “vereign, and that *Sepusa* had a mind to
 “become Tributary to the Port. Was
 “ever any thing so repugnant to
 “Truth? 'Twas *Ferdinand* himself, who
 “had a mind to pay Tribute to the
 “Turks.

“*Solyman* having taken *Buda*, and al-
 “most all the other Places of *Hungary*,
 “restored them to *John Sepusa*, without
 “exacting any thing of him; but after
 “the Death of this Prince, when *Ferd-*
 “*nand* would have deprived his Widow
 “*Isabella*, and his Son *John* the 2^d, this

“unfor-

"unfortunate Widow was constrained to
 "have recourse once more to the Pro-
 "tection of *Solyman*; who for the Ex-
 "pences of the War, retained *Buda*, *Quir-*
 "que-Ecclesia, *Alba Regalis*, and *Gran-*
 "The Austrians can't deny that *Ferd-*
 "inand offered to pay *Solyman* for each
 "Hungarian a Crown tribute, if he would
 "refuse his Protection to *Sepusa*. It is
 "true, that this Prince disowned the Am-
 "bassador that he had dispatched to the
 "Port, when he received Advice that he
 "had been stop'd by *Sigismund* as he
 "cross'd over *Poland*, altho his Instructi-
 "ons directed it in expresse Terms. Be-
 "hold how the Princes of the *Austrian*
 "Family are become Masters of *Hungary*.
 "Let us see now what Methods they have
 "practised to render this Crown heredi-
 "tary in their House.
 "The first thing they attempted, was
 "to divide you, under pretence of a dif-
 "fering Religion: They perswaded the
 "Roman-Catholicks, that the Protestants
 "had drawn the Turks into *Hungary*,
 "to the end of incensing the First against
 "the Protestants: Notwithstanding, it
 "is easy enough to know the contrary
 "by the Letter which *John Sepusa* wrote
 "to *Clement* the 7th, by which he makes
 "it appear, that the Threats which *Fer-*
 "dinand made to *Solyman*, by his Amba-
 "sadors,

“sadors, disposed him to turn his Arms
“against this desolate Kingdom.

“Although, by several Treaties, the
“Kings of the House of *Austria*, had prom-
“ised to leave the Protestants the free
“Exercise of their Religion, they have
“not ceased to deprive them of their
“Churches and their Schools. This is
“what’s expressly born by the Treaty
“of *Vienna*, made with *Boscai*, and con-
“firmed after that by a Declaration of
“the Arch-duke *Matthias*; who has been
“since Emperor, and King of *Hungary*.
“In 1608, this Liberty of Religion was
“extended to the very Peasants of Villa-
“ges. *Ferdinand* the 2d, confirmed the
“Declarations of his Predecessors at his
“Coronation. *Ferdinand* the 3d, did the
“same thing in 1647. And there was a
“Declaration of the like nature in 1655.
“Nevertheless, in spite of so many As-
“surances, so often repeated, the Ger-
“mans have not failed to seize upon the
“great Church of *Cassovia*, after having
“broke open the Doors, and have dis-
“possess’d the Protestants of the use
“thereof. Next they surpriz’d that of
“*Newsol*, a City of the Mountains, in
“the night-time, whilst the People slept;
“and as *Newsol* was fortified, they en-
“tered it by scaling. I can’t relate, with-
“out Horror, what Cruelties they exer-
“cised

" cised in the Church of *Tbalia*, a little
 " Village, when they became Masters of
 " it. They committed Rapes therein,
 " and disposed themselves to all sorts of
 " Excess: Judg if these Extremities are
 " the Ways to bring back, into the bosom
 " the Church, those whom they call sedu-
 " ced. Nevertheless, they engaged the
 " Catholicks of the Kingdom to take
 " Arms with them, in order to chase the
 " Protestants from their Churches and
 " their Schools.

" The Ministers of the Emperor, after ha-
 " ving sowed amongst you the Spirit of
 " Division, to weaken you, deprived the
 " Hungarians of all the Charges, and all the
 " Governments, against your Rights, to
 " become Masters of Places. Then they
 " supplied them with German Garisons,
 " under pretence of defending them a-
 " gainst the Turks, whose Assaults, in re-
 " ference to those Places, they said they
 " suddenly expected. To know by what
 " Motive the Emperor introduced these
 " foreign Troops into *Hungary*, one must
 " examine two things: 1st. If the King-
 " dom, before it was subject to the House
 " of *Austria*, defended it self ill against
 " the Infidels: And 2^{dly}, If those Troops,
 " which are pretended to have been sent
 " to your assistance have treated you with
 " Civility, and applied themselves to your
 " Interests.

" As

“ As for what relates to the first Point,
“ let us ascend to the time of the Huni-
“ ades and the Corvins, and we shall find
“ that *Hungary* has been the Bulwark of
“ *Christendom*. Since that time, if so be
“ this Kingdom has lost any thing of its
“ former Splendour, 'tis only because the
“ Successors of *Ferdinand* have drawn out
“ its Forces. Notwithstanding, they
“ send you Germans, under a pretence
“ of supporting you, and these Germans
“ treat you with more Inhumanity than
“ ever did the Turks and Tartars. They
“ destroy your Harvests, they take away
“ your Goods, they dishonour your
“ Wives and your Daughters; and set
“ fire to your Houses, after having filled
“ them with Slaughter. What could
“ your most cruel Enemies do to you
“ worse? At the same time, if you dare
“ complain, they accuse you of Ingrati-
“ tude, and tell you that you misuse those
“ who are sent to your assistance.

“ They interpret that revenge, a Crime,
“ which you took of 300 Musqueteers, in
“ the Town of *Ker*: and they report, as
“ an extraordinary Effect of the Empe-
“ ror's Clemency, the Goodness he made
“ appear by leaving their Deaths unpun-
“ nished; as if these Souldiers had not
“ deserved it, having before massacre'd
“ a Gentleman of the Ancient Nobility,
“ who

“ who had exercised the Charge of sworn
 “ Assessor in the County of *Abanvivar*,
 “ altho they could accuse him of nothing
 “ more than an Unwillingness to satisfy
 “ their insatiable Avarice. Is it not per-
 “ mitted, by all Laws, Divine and Hu-
 “ mane, to repulse Force with Force, when
 “ there’s no other way to obtain Justice?
 “ They say, that you pursued the Ger-
 “ man Souldiers, with Forks and Clubs;
 “ but since the Peasants have no other
 “ Arms, they might well use them to de-
 “ fend their Goods against these Rob-
 “ bers.

“ They propose to you, for an Exam-
 “ ple, the Emperor’s Humanity towards
 “ the Prince *Ragotski*, whom he re-esta-
 “ blished in his Possession, altho his Grand-
 “ father, after having disunited *Transil-*
 “ *vania* from *Hungary*, made it tributary
 “ to the Port, and notwithstanding he
 “ had himself been one of the heads of the
 “ last Rebellion. Can a thing of so little
 “ Truth be advanced; and dares any one
 “ affirm, that this Prince was favourably
 “ dealt with, when all his Moveables were
 “ taken away, and he deprived of the
 “ Places of *Erschot*, *Patak*, *Onod*, *Tokai*,
 “ *Saros* and *Trentschin*; and that his Wi-
 “ dow is held close block’d up in *Mon-*
 “ *gatz*, which is the only Place remain-
 “ ing to her?

“ They

“ They accuse the Protestants of having
“ suffered *Waradin* to be lost, and of say-
“ ing, That they had rather hear the *Al-*
“ *lah* of the Turks, than the *Allelujah* of
“ the Papists. Was there ever Malice so
“ inveterate? *Martin Bredoy*, and *Fran-*
“ *cis Belemersi*, who are still living, can
“ testify, that they were sent to *Souches*,
“ General of the Imperial Army, to press
“ him to dispatch Succours to the Be-
“ sieged; and that he would never quit
“ his Post, nor make one Detachment
“ march that way. When the Place was
“ taken by the Turks, Prince *Porcia*, to
“ excuse this Negligence, after having con-
“ sidered upon the Map the Situation of
“ *Waradin*, told the Emperor, that it was
“ no great loss, that it was no better than
“ a Hog-sty: Those are his very Terms.

“ They would also perswade you, that
“ they distinguish the Loyal Hungarians
“ from the Rebels; and that those, who
“ have not taken up Arms against their
“ Sovereign, are for that reason exempted
“ from the Taxes, which are imposed on
“ them, for the support of the foreign
“ Garisons. Is not this attempting a-
“ gainst your Liberty, and infringing
“ your Privileges, when they lay Taxes
“ upon you? Is it not directed, by the
“ Constitutions of the Kingdom, that the
“ King can impose nothing without the
“ con-

“ consent of the States, and an urgent
 “ Necessity? Notwithstanding, the pre-
 “ sent King will be Master of them, and
 “ pretends that they depend upon his
 “ single Will and Pleasure.

“ In order to have a Pretence of de-
 “ priving you of your Rights, it is alled-
 “ ged, that the Revolt has been universal,
 “ and that no Person is exempt; but af-
 “ ter having justified, by the Declaration
 “ of *Andrew* the 2^d, that you might le-
 “ gally take up Arms for the defence of
 “ your Liberty, I will also give you an
 “ Example to demonstrate, that you have
 “ a Right to depose your Kings, when
 “ they contravene those Conditions, un-
 “ der which they have received the
 “ Crown. *Petrus Germanicus* was, as King
 “ *Leopold* doth now, forgiving the Char-
 “ ges of the Kingdom to Strangers, for
 “ putting into places German Garisons,
 “ and for making Impositions, of his own
 “ motion, without the Approbation of
 “ the States. These very States, incensed
 “ at so many Infractions, deposed him,
 “ and elected *Abus* to reign in his stead.

“ They would give a false Interpreta-
 “ tion to the Ordinance of *Andrew* the 2^d;
 “ and make Men believe that the Inten-
 “ tion of this Prince was only to commit
 “ to the Palatine the care of maintaining
 “ in this Kingdom the Catholick Religi-
 “ on,

“ on, and of preventing the Alteration
“ of its Purity ; but if one well considers
“ the Terms, one must be convinced that
“ it concerns Privileges and not Religion.

“ The Austrians pretend to justify the
“ Execution of the three Counts, by two
“ ways. The first is drawn from the
“ Examples of Count *Lambert de Maylach*
“ and his Accomplices, whom *Bela* put
“ to Death for having taken up Arms a-
“ gainst him ; from *John Ban* of *Croatia*,
“ from *Kennez*, *Herdivara*, and 30 other
“ Lords, whom *Sigismond* Emperor, and
“ King of *Hungary*, sent to punishment
“ for a like Occasion ; and from *Stephen*
“ *Vaivod* of *Moldavia*, who lost his Head
“ by order of the same Prince. The se-
“ cond is founded upon the Moderation
“ which the present King shewed, in re-
“ lation to the Sentence of the three
“ Counts, when he remitted that part of
“ it which referred to the Hand's being
“ cut off.

“ As for the Examples, they have no
“ consistence with the unjust Decree a-
“ gainst the Defenders of your Liberty.
“ The Count *Lambert* having cast himself
“ at the King's feet, his own Brother pul-
“ led him away, and broke his Head with
“ a Joint-stool, which he had seized on.
“ This very Brother dragg'd *Nicholas* the
“ Son of the Count, even to the King's
“ Throne,

“ Throne, and made his Head to be cut
 “ off in his Presence. The other Lords
 “ were massacred in the Hall of the As-
 “ sembly. The Rebellion of *Kenez* and
 “ *Herdivara*, was also sufficiently proved;
 “ and *Stephen* the *Vaivod* had been duly
 “ cited, before he was arrested. Can the
 “ same thing be asserted of the Counts
 “ *Nadasti*, *Serini*, and *Frangipani*? Was
 “ there any Formality observed in their
 “ Trial? There was no Accuser, no In-
 “ formation, the Judges were Foreign-
 “ ers, and the Laws of the Kingdom
 “ were not pursued. If *Nadasti* was a
 “ Criminal, his Crime was annulled by
 “ the Emperor’s Pardon; and the other
 “ two came of themselves to *Vienna*, up-
 “ on the assurance which had been given
 “ them of a favourable Usage. After so
 “ much Injustice, can one call this a fa-
 “ vourable Sentence, which was pronoun-
 “ ced by incompetent Judges, and con-
 “ trary to all the Rules of Law and
 “ Clemency?

“ We are accused of having begg’d
 “ the Protection of the
 “ Turks, but we have
 “ done no more than
 “ has been practised in
 “ all Ages. One finds in the sacred Hi-
 “ story, that the People of God have
 “ joined their Arms to those of idola-

*Hath not the French
 King reason to blush at
 this Passage?*

“trous Princes. The *Austrians* and the
“Kings of *Spain* of this very Family, who
“affect the Name of Catholicks, have
“often treated Alliances with these very
“Infidels. In these latter Times the *Poles*
“have made no scruple of entring into a
“League with the *Tartars*, to make War
“upon the *Swedes* and *Muscovites*.

“When we complain that the Prote-
“stants are chased from their Temples,
“it is replied, that the Catholicks have
“only restored themselves to the Possessi-
“on of those Churches which had been
“taken from them. In the mean time,
“all the World knows that those of our
“Communion have taken none but those
“that were abandoned, which one may
“easily be satisfied in by the Description
“that *George Dracowits*, Bishop of *Quin-*
“*que Ecclesie*, has made of the unhappy
“State wherein the Church and Clergy
“of *Hungary* were at that time. But ad-
“mit the Catholicks had some right in
“those Churches whereof the Protestants
“were in Possession, the same was extin-
“guished by the Transaction of *Vienna*,
“which adjudged them to those of our
“Communion.

“After having explain’d to you, Ge-
“nerous *Hungarians*, the Artifices which
“your Enemies make use of, to cry down
“your Conduct, and to make you fall
“into

“into their Snares; I hope you will not
 “be so imprudent, as to go and throw your
 “selves into the Arms of those People,
 “who seek only to destroy you; and that
 “you will take some Confidence in the
 “words of a Man, who has no other In-
 “terest than the Good of his Country;
 “and who having a pretty considerable
 “Establishment in *Poland*, might be happy
 “there removed from War, if he was
 “not influenced by the Tears of an infi-
 “nite number of miserable People, who
 “expect the end of their Pains from Per-
 “severance and the good fortune of his
 “Arms.


This Manifesto, which might have pro-
 duced great Effects in the beginning of a
 Rebellion, when People full of hopes have
 not as yet seen any ill Consequence of
 their Attempts, was not capable of en-
 gaging afresh Persons disgusted with so
 tedious and unsuccessful a War; if one
 did not excite their languishing Courage
 by an Assistance capable of supporting
 them, and give them a prospect of ob-
 taining what they had vainly expected
 hitherto. Therefore *Teckely* soon after
 marched at the head of a Body of Troops,
 mix'd with *Hungarians*, *Transylvanians* and
Turks, who compos'd an Army of 9 or
 10000 Men. He came to encamp near

Great Waradin, where he had a Reception extreamly different from the other, and from whence he sent to advise those of *Mongatz* of his March, and to sollicite every where his ancient Friends to rejoin him.

The Garison of *Mongatz*, enlivened by this News, made a Sally of 600 Men, wherein they shock'd the Imperialists with so much Courage, that they killed above 300 of them, seized upon a Redoubt, which they had raised, and so delivered the lower Town from an Inconvenience, which began to render the Abode there dangerous.

In the mean time Count *Caprara* seized upon another Post, by which means he hindred the Inhabitants of the Town from going to fetch Water at the River, from whence he hoped in a little time to draw a great Advantage against them. But the Town being full of Cisterns, which had been filled by the great Rains which had newly fallen, that did not much incommod the Inhabitants.

In the mean time Count *Teckely*, instead of taking to the right towards *Mongatz*, as it was supposed he would, marched to the left towards *Transylvania*, at some Leagues from *Clausembourg*, in order to attempt, to surprize, or debauch some *Hungarian* Troops, which were not far from

from thence, and whereof the greatest part had formerly followed his Standards. But these Troops being advised of his coming, retired towards other *German* Troops, and *Teckely* would not undertake to follow them, nor to force them. He was in hopes still, that by little and little he might win them back, by the means of Correspondence he had amongst them; but his Approach was fatal to some of his Friends, or those who were suspected to be so. Several were ordered to be seized on, whether they were really culpable, or that it was feigned to be believed, in order to put those Men who were not confided in, out of a condition to do hurt, in case they had a design.  *Those who have long born Arms against their Sovereign, tho they return to their Duty, they are never loved, and the first occasion that is had to quarrel with them, always suffices to destroy them.*

Count *Caraffa* who commanded a Body of an Army of 7000 Men to oppose the Designs of *Teckely*, followed him some few days, without being able to overtake him, in hopes of defeating the new Troops he conducted. But *Teckely* being fixed upon hazarding nothing, and not being well enough assured of his new Army, kept near *Waradin*, without attempting any thing. In the mean time *Caraffa* came before

St. Job, a Town three Leagues from *Waradin*, and supported by a Castle, flanked with four Bastions of Free-stone, and encompassed with a double Ditch. He summoned the Place upon the 9th of *February*, and the Garison replied to him with some Vollics of Cannon: he attempted to force it. Happily for him a Bomb, which fell upon the Magazine of Powder, set it on Fire, killed several Persons, and reduced the Garison to capitulate, for want of Powder, the 12th of the same Month. It went out the next day, and carried to *Waradin* the News of the taking of a Place which was supposed capable of resisting above a Month. There was found within it eight pieces of Cannon, Provisions, and a great number of Christian Prisoners. The Castle, altho little considerable of it self, did not cease to put all the Neighbourhood under Contribution, and to annoy the Imperialists. They made the same use of it against the *Turks*; and *Debrezen*, which had been taxed to a certain Sum, as a means to exempt it from Winter-Quarters, and had refused to pay it, when *Teckely* was near it, was constrained to submit to the Conditions of the Imperialists. The *Turks* acted but weakly by reason of the Disorders which had been at *Adrianople*, where the Grand-Signor had

had put the Serasquier to Death, and after that depos'd the Grand-Visier. *Solyman* who commanded the Army which had opposed the *Poles*, was made Visier, and could not immediately re-establish Order in the Armies of the Grand-Signor.

The Affairs of the Port, and the Malecontents being in this condition, it seems that a small Effort would absolutely have quell'd the Party. It had but the single Town of *Mongatz* left, which had been block'd up a long time. This Blockade was turn'd into a formal Siege in the beginning of *March*, and several Batteries were prepared to ruine the Castle below, and that above. They also threw a great quantity of Bombs and Carcasses, and left nothing unattempted that might terrify the Inhabitants. But as the Garison was composed of 4000 Men, and the Inhabitants affected to the Party, nothing could shake them. Besides, the Situation of the was Place found in the Attacks stronger than had been imagined. The lower Town and Castle were encompass'd with a Ditch very broad and deep, which was full of Water. The Imperialists in vain undertook to drain it, and those of the Place found means to introduce Water, which came from several parts of the Mountains, because the Snows began to melt. In vain therefore did they endea-

your to form an Attack against the upper Castle : Being seated upon an inaccessible Rock uncommanded, and encompass'd with a double Ditch cut into the Rock, a few Men might be able to defend it against a great Army. Besides it happened that the Spring-time was extreemly rainy in *Hungary*, insomuch that all the Works of the Beliegers were full of Water. Moreover, the Army that was there, having consumed all the Provisions and Forage thereabouts, had much ado to subsist. *Caprara*, who had the Conduct of this Siege, sent Advice to *Vienna* of the condition of his Troops, and of the Siege, which he declared himself unable to continue, unless he was assisted with Provisions and Men ; but the Imperial Council having other Designs, found it more seasonable to abandon this Enterprize. So the Siege was raised about the end of *April*, after a continuance of two Months, without reckoning the Blockade, which had been formed two Months before. *Teckely*, fearing lest the Place should at length be won, used his utmost Endeavours to get a sufficient Force to go and fall upon *Caprara* ; but the Troops which he attempted to recollect in the Neighbourhood in order to this Design, having been routed by some of the Officers of the Emperor, the Turks were disgusted at the Enterprize ;
and

and the ill Weather joined to the Scarcity of the Imperial Army, besides the advantageous Situation of the Place, and the Resistance of the Garison. saved without them the only place of Refuge which the Male-contents possessed in *Hungary*.

On another side, the Imperial Commanders having no further Concern with the People of the Country, gain'd several Advantages over the Turks. The *Serafsquier* with some *Bassa's*, and *Teckely* being advanced towards *Seged*, with a Body of 4000 Men, were routed without fighting, surpris'd by the Baron of *Merci*, inferior in number, but who arriv'd so unexpectedly, that they could not know what his Forces were, nor put themselves in a posture of Defence.

The Imperial Army which was to act against the Turks, rendezvouz'd between *Barcan* and *Gran*, where it was to be compleat by the 15th of *May*. It was to be composed of above 50000 Men, and commanded, as in the preceding Campaignes, by the Duke of *Lorrain*. It had been disputed in the Emperor's Council, whether the Siege of *Buda* should be form'd, or that of some other place less important, as *Agria*, or *Belgrade*. The Fortifications of *Buda* having been repaired, and the Place provided with all things to support a Siege, with a Garison of 10000 Men.

commanded by a Renegade; some were of opinion, that it hazarded the loss of a world of Men, and the raising of the Siege, as before. But others on the contrary, represented that it would prove better than before, because the Place was more known, and that those Faults might be avoided which they had made in the first Siege; and if this Design succeeded, the Emperor might depend upon being soon Master of all the lower *Hungary*. The chief Officers being of this Advice, all things were disposed for the Execution of it; but the Duke of *Lorraine* could not arrive at the Camp before the 8th of *June*.

In order to send more Troops over the *Danube*, it was resolved to raise the Fortifications of several Towns of upper *Hungary*, to the end of not being oblig'd to hold Garisons therein, and to hinder *Tackely* from making an Advantage of them. This was done at *Eperies*, and some other Places; they also thought themselves in a condition of obliging *Abaffi*, and the *Transylvanians* to declare for the Emperor; and if it succeeded, they might be able to make a considerable Diversion on that side. Since the Detention of *Teckely*, *Abaffi* had refused the Malecontents all sorts of Relief, without attempting nevertheless any thing against them,

to manage himself at the same time with the Emperor and the Grand-Signor, under the uncertainty he was in concerning the end of the War. But to oblige him to determine himself, the Count of *Scherffemberg* was sent into *Transylvania* with 8000 *Germans* and *Hungarians* near *Clau-semburg*. The Visier, who was at *Belgrade*, being advised of it, directed some *Valachian* Troops to march on that side, in order to act jointly with *Teckely*, and to drive the Imperialists out of *Transylvania*. *Scherffemberg* went to meet them, and put them to the rout before they could come near *Waradin*. He seized at the same time, upon the Passage of *Hermanstadt*; and at length, after having given the *Transylvanians* some Respite to consider, upon condition that they should provide for his Army in the mean time, he compelled them to declare themselves, & to join their Troops with his, which rendred *Teckely* and the *Turks* incapable of attempting any thing on that side. The Count, in not having prevented this Blow, must either have ill Spies, or else the *Turks* did not make a speedy use enough of his Advice. When those who see alone what is to be done in order to prevent a Misfortune, can't act themselves to oppose it in good time, but are reduced to importune those who see it not, it seldom hap-

pens that things are carried on with a necessary Expedition.

In the mean time the Imperial Army was muster'd upon the 10th of *June*: It consisted of 30000 Foot, and 20000 Horse, without computing the *Hungarians*, and the Troops of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, which were expected still. It had 16 great Pieces of Cannon, 40 Mortars, and all other Provisions in proportion. It was divided in two parts, and marched on each side of the *Danube*, by little Journeys, upon account of the bad Ways. The 18th the Duke of *Lorrain* invested the Place, and ordered the making of a Bridge for the other part of the Army to pass over that was on the other side of the *Danube*, and commanded by the Elector of *Bavaria*. The *Turks* who had not conjectur'd that they would return to the Siege of *Buda*, did not at all oppose the March of the Army, and did not so much as send to observe it, till it appeared before the Place. I will not insist upon the Circumstances of this Siege, whose History no further relates to the Life of Count *Teckely*, than as the taking of this Place had an Influence in the Affairs of all *Hungary*, and to which the Circumstances are of no effect.

It shall suffice to say, that if the Place was well assaulted, according to the method
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of the *Germans*, it was as well defended, the Besieged being resolved to hold out to Extremity. There was no Obstruction to the Siege without, till the 12th of *August*, when the Serafquier appeared upon the Hills near the *Danube*. After he had encamped there, he put himself in order of Battel the next day, without engaging still with the Imperialists, who had exceeded their Lines. It is said that the Turks were 50000 Men, and the Christians not above 40000, the rest having continued in the Lines. The next day the Turks advanced on farther, and some of them crept along a Mountain, which was at the right of the Imperialists, with a design to get into the Place through the Camp, whilst the rest of their Army diverted that of the Christians. But the first were assaulted, and the others vigorously repulsed at the same time, who retired to their Camp after having lost near 2000 Men. Instead of returning to the Charge, they decamped in the Night, and went to post themselves three Leagues from thence, where resided the Grand Visier. It is said, that this last would absolutely have the Serafquier return against the Christians, and heard not the Excuses. Indeed, unless the Turkish Army was severely frightened at the loss it had received, in returning divers times ;
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the Imperial Army, which was extremely fatigued with the Siege, and had been under Arms three days, could hardly have resisted long. The 20th, 2000 Janisaries came again to attack the Lines, and performed it with so much Vigor, that they broke through immediately, and had all unquestionably entred the Place, if they had been supported as they ought; but there could enter not above 300, whereof the greatest part were wounded. It is said, that the Visier gave 30 Crowns to each of the Janisaries, who in this occasion had perfectly well discharged their Duties; but who were not assisted by the *Spahies*, who complained of having been in other Encounters abandoned by the Janisaries. Thus the Jealousy there is between those two kinds of Turkish Soldiers, and the small Experience of their Officers, preserved the Christian Army at this time. They were contented to appear often in order of Battel in view of the Imperialists, who went out of their Lines to receive them, but advanced not up to them when they saw them fixed. The Turks attempted once again to break through the Trenches of the Imperialists, the 29th of *August*; but being entred into the Camp on one side, whilst the Visier made an appearance of going to assault it on another, they lost 7 or 800 Men, with-
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out being able to pierce as far as the Place. The loss was small for an Army as considerable as that; and which ought to save the Place upon any Conditions. In the mean time the Turks not returning to attack the Lines, the Imperialists won *Buda* the 2d of *September*, by a general Assault, wherein they broke through the last Trenches of the Enemy on three sides.

The Turkish Army, which might have prevented the taking of the Place, by continual Skirmishes with the Imperialists, did not appear the day whereon the Town was won, and was preparing to march towards *Alba Regalis*. Having increas'd the Garison of this City, it turn'd towards *Esseck*, and remained some time encamped three Leagues from thence, to observe the march of the Imperial Army. The Duke of *Lorrain*, after having made the Christian Army rest three days near *Buda*, resolved to follow that of the Turks, and went to encamp the 19th of *September* at *Tolna* upon the *Danube*; but the Turks being unwilling to engage themselves in a Battel, he divided his Army, half of which passed the *Danube* to go and form the Siege of *Seged*; and the other took to the right, with a design to invest *Quinque Ecclesia*. The Visier retired to *Esseck*, and put his Troops in Winter-Quarters, whilst the Imperialists obtained these two Places, at
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the end of the Month, besides several others of less note. Count *Veterani* also beat a considerable Relief that was marching to raise the Siege of *Seged*; so that it seems the Affairs of the Ottoman Empire were generally in a declining state, without a Man found capable to re-instate them.

In the two Sieges of *Buda* they had lost their best Troops, and their bravest Officers, who had put themselves in a state of perishing, or were effectually dead with their Arms in their Hands, rather than to abandon this Place to the Christians. After that, one saw amongst the Turks none but such Officers as were equally unable to defend and attack with Honour.

The hopes of *Teckely*; and those who had remain'd fix'd to his Interests, diminished at the same time; and having no Troops in his Dependence, nor being able to obtain any of the Turks, he found himself reduced to make use of some Intrigues, the success of which was not advantageous to him. It is said that the Princess *Ragotski* sent the Countess *Nadasti*, and another Hungarian Lady to *Cassovia*, with a design to gain some Persons there, under pretence of being willing to submit to the Emperor. But their Intention was discovered, and they were apprehended, whether what was asserted of them was true, or that they were used so out of Suspicion, or Revenge.

Revenge. A Turkish Party that was to surprise *Cassovia*, was defeated by the Generals *Caraffa* and *Heusler*.

It is also assured, that the Princess *Ragotski* sent two Persons to *Caraffa*, in order to let him know that she was absolutely disposed to enter into some Accommodation with the Emperor, and demanded for that end a Truce for three Months. *Caraffa* referr'd her to the Emperor's Ministers of State, lest if it proved a Feint, they should tax him with Imprudence in suffering himself to be impos'd on. As the Affairs of the Turks every day grew worse, they nearly observed the Person of *Teckely*, lest by a Disgust of them he would no longer serve them, and should apply himself to make a serious Composition with the Emperor. It was for this reason they denied him the Liberty of throwing himself into *Mongatz*, notwithstanding he promised to disturb the Imperial Troops from thence.

Whilst the Imperialists and Turks made great Preparations for the following Campaign, the Garison of *Mongatz*, seeing the Emperor disposed to treat the Remains of the Male-contents with Severity, did all the Waste they could in the Neighbourhood, to deprive the Imperialists of the means of Subsistence; and took away as much

much as they could carry off, and as they judged convenient to support a Siege. The Princess *Ragotski* is even accused of having directed the Hands of two Prisoners of War to be cut off, and sent them back in this Condition, bidding them hereafter go and serve the Emperor. Being in so weak a State as she was, if she used them thus, she must have particular Reasons for it; otherwise she ought to have feared, lest the Imperialists should entertain those Prisoners so, whom they should have taken upon her.

Teckely being in the Neighbourhood, without having wherewithal to attempt any thing by force, the Imperialists were perswaded that it was impossible for him to remain in Peace. It was imagined, that he sought Opportunities again of causing an Insurrection in *Upper-Hungary*, and that he held great Intelligences there. As the German Troops misused the Hungarians more than they had ever done, regarding *Hungary* hereafter, as a Land of Conquest; the Commanders might easily conjecture, that the Hungarians were not less incensed against them than before, altho they did not shew it, for fear of drawing upon themselves some Disturbance. Possibly this Conduct of the Germans, which reduced to despair several Hungarian Families, who were no easier under the Emperor, than
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when they bore Arms against him, engaged some of them to a secret Correspondence with their ancient Captain. Perhaps also, that as those are never absolutely pardoned, who have made some figure in a rebellious Party, notwithstanding their submission, especially if they have Estates; so an Occasion was look'd after to destroy the ancient Friends of *Teckely*, and to seize upon what they had, by accusing them of Treason. In the Month of *February*, were arrested all those who were suspected to have any Intelligence with this Count; and no Hungarian was permitted to leave any Towns, where it was conjectured he had any Correspondence, without Security. A little while after it was found, that the Conspiracy had been almost universal; and that several of the chief Inhabitants, not only of *Cassovia* and *Eperies*, but also of *Tirnav*, *Altfol*, *Newfol*, *Leutsch*, *Oedemburgh* and *Presburgh*, were concerned therein. The Prisons were filled with an infinite number of Persons, and the most considerable in *Hungary*. They put to Death the greatest Offenders, or the most Unfortunate; and the rest were discharged upon the Payment of Fines, which absolutely ruined them. The ancient Formalities were no more observed, than Persons dared to demand them, for fear of passing for Rebels. Count *Caraffa*, and a Chamber composed

posed of Strangers, and established at *Cassovia*, put a great number to the Rack, upon slender Proofs, which so severely handled them, that some died thereof. These extorted Confessions, which were given out as they would themselves; gave the Judges an Opportunity of seizing upon what remain'd to the Hungarians, after the first Conspiracy. If the Hungarians repented of having so soon submitted to the Emperor, and had renewed their ancient Practices; it must be confessed, that either the Yoke, which was imposed on them, was very severe, since they chose rather to embrace a desperate Party, than to see themselves eternally subjected thereto: or that they were extreamly inconstant, since they were uneasy in all Conditions.

The Turks could not get together Money and Troops sufficient to give them a prospect of re-establishing soon their Affairs in *Hungary*, as it appeared enough by the Campaign of the following Summer. The Imperialists even published, that the Visier had wrote a Letter to Prince *Herman of Baden*, President of the Council of War, to demand a Peace of the Emperor. He made him apprehend, 'twas said, that the Sultan his Master being inclined to make a Peace, if the Emperor was in the same Disposition, as it was supposed he would, considering the ruine of
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the People, that a Place be agreed upon, where Persons should be sent on each side to form the Articles : and to make the Sincerity of the Port appear, as soon as the Council of *Vienna* should give its Parole to enter into a Treaty, the Count of *Teckely* should be given up to the Emperor. The Turks deputed likewise an Aga to *Debrezen*, who was conducted to *Eperies*, where he demanded a Pass-Port for an Ambassador ; but the Emperor made Answer to him by *Caraffa*, that he would make a Peace if the Grand Signor would oblige himself to pay him six Millions of Gold for the Expences of the War, and for the Destructions that had been made, and if he would restore him all the Places he possessed in *Hungary*, and would also satisfy *Poland* and the Republick of *Venice*. As for what relates to the Offer, which the Turks made of delivering up *Teckely*, it was answered that he was esteemed too little formidable to give Disturbance to the Emperor, and that a Motive of that nature was not capable of advancing the Peace. If it be true, that the Turks made this Offer, *Teckely* had an occasion to fear ; and if such an Answer was given them, as was declared, certainly it was not proper to augment that Esteem which the Turks had for him. He was at this time in *Lippa*, and he escaped an eminent Danger ; for
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the Garison of *Chenod* having surpris'd the City of *Lippa*, he had much ado to secure himself in the Castle. During all this Winter the Imperialists made great Incurfions; and if they did not all fucceed, they had notwithstanding generally the upper hand.

The Vifler made a Review of his Army about the end of *April*, in the Plain of *Salankemen*, near *Belgrade*; it was near 50000 ftrong. *Teckely* had orders to go to him; and as he was upon his way with 2 or 300 Horfe, he was attack'd near *Giula*, by 500 Huffars, who killed him above 100 Men; but as for him, he retired to *Kerek* during the Fight. In the beginning of *June*, the Duke of *Lorrain* likewise took the Field with part of the Imperial Army, which was to confift of above 50000 Men, and took his March by the *Drave* towards the Bridg of *Esseck*, which the Turks had not as yet abfolutely repaired, fince fome Imperial Detachments had burnt down a part of it. The 26th of *June* he fet upon them, and constrained them to repafs the *Drave* upon a Bridg of Boats, which they had, altho they had made a Fort at the Head of their Bridg, which the over-flowing of the River broke at the fame time. This very over-flowing hindred the Imperialists from attempting to pafs it during fome days; but

but they found means to surmount all Difficulties, and the Army passed near the Fort of *Siclos* the 11th and 12th of July, and was joined four days after by the Elector of *Bavaria*, who commanded the rest of the Troops, and had cross'd the *Danube* at *Mohats*. They continued to march towards the Enemy, and arrived at their Trenches the 19th. The Imperial Army was obliged to break through some Defiles which the Enemy guarded, but not without loss; and the Turks were found after that so well posted, that there was a necessity of enduring all their Artillery, in order to approach their Trenches. They lost in this occasion 7 or 800 Men; and after having attempted to draw the Turks out of so advantageous a Post, the Generals of the Emperor judged it most convenient to retire; which they did in good order. The Turks sent some Horse to charge the Rear, but they were repulsed so well, that the Christian Army repass'd the *Drave* without loss. The Visier also pass'd it, and posted himself between *Esseck* and *Darda*, in the Isles which the Marshes and Arms of this River compose there, where it was not possible to force him. The Christian Army was near *Mohats*, and made several unsuccessful Motions, to draw the Enemies to a Fight, but there were only some inconsiderable Skirmishes for a long

long time. C. Teckely was then in the Camp of the Turks, and part of their Conduct is imputed to his good Advice. The 12th of August, the Christian Army, in marching from *Mohats* towards *Siclos*, was charged at last by the whole Turkish Army; but the Elector of *Bavaria*, who was the first attack'd, sustained their Shock with so much Resolution, that the whole Christian Army being come back, repulsed them every where; insomuch that, Terror being introduced amongst them, they fled towards *Esseck*. The Bridg of the *Drave* being broke down by those who fled first, many of them were drowned who undertook to swim over it; and the Turks lost 6000 Men in this Engagement for want of knowing how to make an orderly Retreat to their Camp, which it was easy to defend. But when they have once the lower-hand, their Minds are, for the most part, so strongly possessed with Fear, that they no longer distinguish what they do. Otherwise they had gain'd the Advantage in the first Skirmishes, and even in the beginning of the Fight the Ground was favourable to them; and they were superiour to the Christians in number, their Army having been considerably augmented, since it had been said they were above 50000 Men. The Christians plunder'd the Camp, which they had deserted, and found therein a very considerable booty.

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After that, the D. of *Lorrain* judging that the Grand-Visier was not in a condition of undertaking any thing during the rest of the Campaign, left the C. of *Dunewald*, with 4000 Horse and 6000 Foot, to cover *Siclos* and *Quinque-Ecclesia*; and passed the *Danube*, with the remainder of the Army, near *Mosbats*. From thence he marched towards *Zelwick*, where having taken to the right, he turned towards *Transilvania*, to put his Army there in Winter-quarters. The War had so entirely ruined *Hungary*, that the Towns were almost become Desarts, and the Lands, by consequence, untilld for the most part; which made the Germans, who had been formerly so ambitious of Winter-quarters in this Country, no longer covetous in that respect. On the other-side, it was to be feared lest, if *Transilvania* were left to the Discretion of the Turks, they should take Quarters in't themselves, and compel *Abassi* to do for them what he had lately done for the Emperor. At the same time, C. *Dunewald* took in the *Lower-Hungary*, *Butzin*, *Walpo*, *Esseck*, which the Turks abandoned in disorder, and *Peter-Waradin*; which compleated a Confusion in all the Affairs of the Turks, and filled the Imperialists with Courage; who observing that to succeed, they had nothing more to do than to undertake, performed things every day, which formerly they durst not so much as think on.

It was then the Emperor, who had a mind to Crown the Arch-duke *Joseph*, King of *Hungary*, sent for the chief Lords of this Kingdom to *Vienna*. He restored to them the Crown, which he had transferred from *Presburgh* to *Vienna*, and which he had always with him during the War. This Prince made them a Discourse in Latin, wherein he told them, amongst other things, that he deposited the Crown with them, in order to see it suddenly upon the Head of his Son, whom it was time to declare hereditary K. of *Hungary*. The Hungarians returned Thanks to the Emperor in the same Language, and sent the Crown to *Presburgh*; but it was not set upon the Head of the Arch-duke, till about the end of the Year, as shall be seen in the Consequence.

The evil Conduct of the Grand-Visier, followed with the ill Successes of this Campaign, excited great Murmurings in the Army, which besides wanted the Pay of several Months. The Tumult went so far, that the Army, refusing to obey him, advanced to *Constantinople*, where it went to demand his Head, and those of several Officers, — of the Grand-Signor. The Visier of his own Accord surrendered his Commission, which was given to *Siaou*, according to the Wishes of part of the Army; but this Resignation could not save his Life. The Caimacan, with some others, were also put

put to Death. Methinks the Army should have been contented with this Sacrifice; but the excessive Expences of *Mahomet* the 4th, and his slothful, effeminate Life, ruined even himself. The troublesome Fellows deposed him also in the Month of *November*, and placed upon the Throne his Brother *Solyman*, the Third of the Name, who is not more expert, or more couragious, than his eldest Brother. But as when one is not satisfied with the Condition one is in, it always seems to be likely to improve with change; they did not cease to perswade themselves that all would go better under his Government, than under that of the deposed Sultan; who was imprisoned, as his Successor had been for several Years.

To return to what pass'd in *Hungary*; the D. of *Lorrain* sent word into *Transilvania*, that to protect this Country from the Undertakings of the Infidels, the Emperor had found it necessary to put Garisons into the chief Places, and to give Winter-quarters to his Army there; which the *Transilvanians* would doubtless approve of, since it concerned their Deliverance from the Yoke of the Infidels. The *Transilvanians*, who had at least as much Liberty under the Protection of the Turks, as they could expect under the Emperor, were afraid of changing their Master; for it was of no less import. *Abassi* in particular, who had

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assisted

assisted the Male-contents, and the Turks, by whom he had been made Vaivod, as it has been elsewhere said, trembled at the Apprehension of falling into the Emperor's hands, who had opposed his Establishment as much as possibly he could. He repented that he had been a Spectator only, for the last years, of the Differences betwixt the Emperor and the Male-contents, whom he should, according to good Policy, have continued to assist with all his Force, since he could but perish, or save himself with them. But these Reflections were unseasonable now; whereupon, the Imperial Army was advised from the part of the Transilvanians, that they would furnish it with as much Provisions as they possibly could; but as for surrendring their Places, or giving Quarters, they could not do it, without exposing themselves to the Revenge of the Turks and Tartars; who entring into such an open Country as theirs, would lead off, without any hopes of Prevention, the greatest part of its Inhabitants into Slavery, and carry Desolation every-where.

The D. of *Lorrain* having answered to that in general Terms, assuring them of the Protection of the Emperor, did not cease to continue his Advancing into the Country; and fixed a Garison at *Sabelona*, upon the 11th of *October*, when he arrived there.

there. The Transilvanians might repeat their Offers long enough ; he marched directly to *Clausenburgh*, where he entred the 20th, upon condition that he should leave all things in the state he found them ; that he should exact no Contributions ; that the Magistrates should be exempted from entertaining Souldiers ; that the Citizens should be obliged only to furnish the Imperial Garison with Necessaries, without being obliged to convert them into Money ; and that the Troops should be kept under a severe Discipline. He did the same in respect of *Tuttemburgh*, *Alba-Julia*, *Hermanstad*, and others of the most important Places. There was also a particular Treaty with *Abassi* and the States ; wherein they also covenanted, that there should be no Revolution amongst them, and that the Troops should depart the following Spring ; and they would be obliged to furnish them with a certain quantity of Provisions. *Abassi* and his Family, who were at *Hermanstad*, retired to *Fogarats* ; a Place that properly belonged to him ; notwithstanding with an absolute Liberty of passing to and fro through *Transilvania*. The Imperialists obliged themselves also to defend them, against all Powers whatsoever, and to make no enquiry after past Affairs. Which done, the Duke of *Lorraine* took his way to *Presburgh*, in order to be present

at the Coronation of the Arch-duke.

If any thing had been capable of reviving *Teokely*, and if one could rejoice at the Misfortunes of old Friends, he would have felt some Consolation at the Reception of this News; because in vainly importuning the Transilvanians to afford him some Relief, he had foretold them more than once, that what at this time happened to them, would not fail to make them remember him, when it would be too late. He had likewise given the same Admonitions to those Hungarians, whom his Confinement induced to accept the General Pardon; and he then saw them become the Prey of Strangers, without being in a condition ever to shake off that Yoke, which they had apprehended so many years.

The Emperor and the Arch-duke being arrived, with all their Court, at *Presburgh*, upon the 30th of *October*, where the States were assembled, the Emperor told them in Latin what he desired of them, and also gave it them in Writing. It directed, that his Son might not only be crowned King of *Hungary*, but also that the Kingdom be declared hereditary in his Family. The States examined this Proposition in several Sitings; wherein they renewed the greatest part of those Complaints, which the Hungarians had used to make; after which some Articles were drawn up, which were
presen-

presented to the Emperor by the Deputies of the Diet. Altho they did not refuse to elect the Arch-duke *Joseph*, they demanded the Enjoyment of their ancient Liberty, without speaking of an hereditary Succession : That after a Peace should be contracted with the Port, all the German Garrisons might be recalled, and Hungarians put in their room, to guard Places. In a word, that all their Grievances, which they had not yet drawn up, might be examined and rectified before the Coronation.

The States had 14 days allowed them to prepare and bring in these Grievances; and in the mean time, it was declared to them, that the Expences, which the Emperor had made in order to defend *Hungary* against the Turks, which amounted to much more than the Value of the Kingdom, gave him a Right to look upon it as his other hereditary Dominions.

It was much contested thereupon in the Assembly ; and some Historians *Greg. Leti.* say, that the Count *Nic. Dras-* *Hist. dell.* *cowits*, Great Arbitrator of the *Imper.* Kingdom, having strongly re- *P. 370.* presented the Consequences of surrendring a Right of this nature, they pray'd the Emperor to make no Alteration in their Customs ; but that the Emperor sent them word again, that his Predecessors and Himself having purchased *Hungary* at so dear

a rate, it was but reasonable for the Crown to become hereditary in their House. Some days after, as this matter still took up the States, *Drasowits* being dead suddenly at night in his Bed, without any one's knowing well the Cause; those, who had been of the same Opinion with him, were in such a Consternation at his Death, possibly natural at the same time, that no body any longer openly opposed the Emperor's Will. Some pretended only, to preserve a part of their ancient Rights, that if there were several Princes of the House of *Austria* in *Germany*, the States ought to have the Liberty of electing which they pleased. But this Overture having been also rejected, the States were at length reduced to declare, that for the future the Kingdom of *Hungary* should be hereditary in the Austrian Family of the Imperial Branch; that in default of Heirs Males, it should pass to the Females; and in default of both, it should first belong to the Princes, and then the Princesses of the Branch of *Spain*.

After that, there remain'd nothing more but the Ceremony of the Coronation, which was expected to be performed before the end of *November*; but it was deferred to the 9th of the following Month; for that all the Preparations were not made, and besides it was necessary to determine certain Matters in the Assembly of the States;

of

of which the two principal are these : The first is, that pursuant to an Article of the Declaration of King *Andrew*, each of the three States had a Right to oppose the King, when he contravened the Laws of the Kingdom, without being reputed Offenders for not submitting to his Orders. The Emperor apprehended that his Son and his Successors were not obliged to swear to this Article, because it had always been, said he, a Bottom for Seditions, which the Rebels had even made use of within some few Years. But on the other side, the States in relaxing thereupon, not only rendred the King absolute Master of the Goods and Lives of the Hungarians, but also submitted, by a publick Act, to all his Caprices, or rather to those of his Ministers and Favourites. For it is certain, that those People are no less absolute than Kings ; and 'tis this, that makes them dispose Princes to seek so greedily after a Despotick Power, wherein they are so much concerned. The most part of the Grandees were inclined to agree to what the Emperor thought fit ; because they hoped to enjoy a part of the Regal Power, in exercising the Charges, according to his Intentions ; but the Clergy and the Cities, who had no such Bottoms, and who saw themselves thereby subjected to all sorts of Inconveniences, without the least Remedy, insisted much upon

upon it, and demanded Satisfaction upon their Grievances. They had presented a loose Sheet to the Emperor; in which they made a Particular of the Cruelties which had been practised against several Persons of Note, and a great number of others of less Quality, under pretence of searching the Accomplices of a Conspiracy, wherein they were not at all concerned. He did not refuse to give them Justice thereupon, nor to put their Reasons under Examination; but they must suffer it to be deferred till the Coronation was over, because too great a time was requisite for that purpose.

The second Affair related to the Evangelicks, or Protestants. To make their Court, they had laboured to get the Crown of *Hungary* declared hereditary, and imagined that the Occasion was favourable to petition the Emperor in particular, that he would maintain them in their ancient Privileges; That their Temples and Estates might be restored to them, which they had been dispossessed of since the Year 1667; That there might be no Assembly for the Affairs of the Kingdom, without some Deputies on their part; That the Jesuits might be prohibited from meddling with State-Affairs, or concerning the Protestant Religion; That they might not be permitted to establish themselves in any other Places than where they were; That *Caraffa* might be suddenly recalled, who was accused of having put to Death an infinite number of People, who had no share in the Conspiracy. It was considered in the States, whether the Protestants might be permitted to ask these Favours of the Emperor, but it was found that the Season could hardly favour their Purpose. So that was also referred till the Coronation was over; which imported, that the Imperial Council did what it judged convenient, without the King of *Hungary's* holding himself obliged to any thing. The Ceremony of the Coronation then was performed the 9th, as it had been resolved; but the Particulars are not to be insisted

While

Whilst great Rejoycings were made at *Presburgh*, there arrived a Courier with a new Subject of Joy; to wit, the News of the Reduction of *Agria*, which for want of Provisions, surrendred upon Capitulation the 28th of November; so that there remain'd nothing but *Mongats* unsubjected to the Emperor in *Upper-Hungary*. Then to give some Satisfaction to the Hungarians, he abolished the Criminal-Chamber of *Eperies*, set up to search after those who had been concerned in the late Conspiracy; and which had put to Death a world of People, without observing the usual Proceedings. As to what regards the quartering of Troops, and their Entertainment; whereas the German Officers had disposed of it as they thought fit, without consulting the Hungarians; Commissioners were nominated of this Nation, who were to regulate those kind of things jointly with the Germans. The Examination of the rest was referred to another Assembly.

The Protestants did also beg of the Emperor, and the King, by a Request, that *Hungary* might be restored, in respect of Religion, to the State it was in when his Imperial Majesty came to the Crown. It was replied to them, that there required time to consider of a thing of that consequence; and that in the mean time, they might assure themselves of the Favour of the Emperor and King, provided they continued in their Fidelity to them. All they could obtain, was, that things should be established as they were in 1681.

Thus the Kingdom of *Hungary* from elective, became hereditary; and instead of a moderate Authority by the Laws, the States have suffered *Joseph* the 1st, to take one almost without Bounds. All the Projects which the Hungarians had so often made for the Preservation of their Liberty, all the Preparations in *Hungary*, during so many years, for that Design, yielded at last to the good Fortune of the House of *Austria*; for when *Poland* and *Germany* re-united, conquered Kingdoms, without the Assistance of one Prince of its blood, and for whom Fortune, if it is permitted to say so,

so, took Cities, whilst those Princes were asleep.

On another side ; almost all that *Teckely* undertook, was baffled. He had formed a Design upon *Saged*, which the taking of *Agria* ruined entirely. He might write long enough to all those, whom he knew in *Hungary*, in order to inspire them with a new Courage ; no Body was moved, and Liberty was nothing but a fine Name, fit to draw Sighs from the best-intention'd, but incapable of raising them to Arms. The Turks, imbroil'd amongst themselves, did not distinguish what they did, nor granted him that Relief which they had promised him. All that he could do with ; or 6000 Men, was to make Incursions upon those Hungarians, who had submitted to the Emperor. He attempted several times to get near *Mongats*, or to throw himself therein, and to pursue Relief in it, or to bring out his Wife ; but they had lately block'd up the Place with more Application than ever, insomuch that all his Efforts were unseasonable. The Princess, being summoned to surrender, did not refuse to enter into a Negotiation ; but no Conclusion could be made, because she insisted upon having her Husband and his Companions, included in it, which the Emperor absolutely refused her. Notwithstanding, he had the Address about this time, to detach from the Garison of *Saged* 400 Hungarians, and 400 others, who went in a Parry about *Lippa*. The Hungarian Troops, mortified by the great Advantages which the Germans had obtained without them, had much ado to live with them ; and some of the most impatient, rather chose to undergo once more the hazard of perishing with their ancient Captain, than to see themselves misused by Strangers in their own Countrey.

The End of the Third Book.

MEMOIRES OF THE LIFE

OF

Emeric, Count Teckely.

BOOK IV.

Which comprehends what has happened from the Year 1688, until the Year 1691.

THe Affairs of the *Ottoman* Empire being in a very great disorder, and the new Sultan, no more than his Vizier, not knowing how to betake himself to hinder the *Germans* from making new Conquests in *Hungary*, the *Divan* thought it was necessary to know the opinion of the *Bassa's*, who
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were not able to come to *Constantinople*, and to send, in the same time, for all the Officers of experience that were in the extent of that Empire. Orders were sent to *Teckely* too, to repair thither, that they might hear of him, what he thought the most effectual Method to carry on the War in *Hungary*. Altho' there was a great deal of danger for him to obey that Order, because it might happen that the *Turks* being irritated against them that had engaged them in that War, would revenge themselves upon him for the losses they had made; nevertheless he took the resolution to go, to represent to his Highness more strongly than he could do by Letters, what it behoved them to do in a conjuncture of such a consequence.

Before he set forth for his journey, he wrote to his Spouse to take patience still for a while, seeing that as soon as he would come back he would not fail to go to her Succour.

In the mean while, whatever the *Princess* could do, she was not able to persuade the Garrison to hold any longer; because a Month before that time it was reduced to such a want, as was capable to put the the most Constant out of Patience. Having heard, besides, that *Teckely* was gone
to

to *Constantinople*, she thought him to be absolutely lost. And indeed the least fit of Inconstancy, whether in the Grand Seignior, or in the Vizier, was enough to Restroy him. Those Reasons brought the *Princess* and the Garrison of *Mongatz* to capitulate the 17th of *January*.

Here are the chiefest Articles, which she agreed upon with *Caraffa*, authorized by the Emperour : 1. 'That a general 'Pardon should be granted to the Garrison, as well as to the Inhabitants, for 'all that was past ; and that she should 'carry along with her all that she had in 'the Place. 2. That the *Princess Ragotski*, and the Children she had by the *Prince Ragotski*, should be brought to *Vienna* at 'the Emperour's charge, who should keep 'them, according to their Quality, and 'that he should let them enjoy all sort of 'Liberty, excepted that they could not 'go out of it without his leave. 3. 'That 'all the Goods, moveable, and immoveable, that could be found belonging to 'them in *Mongatz*, and elsewhere, should 'be restored to them ; but that that place 'and what belongs to it, should remain 'in the Emperour's hands, till they had 'made it appear that it had not been 'usurped upon the Crown of *Hungary*. 4. 'That the *Princess* should enjoy all

‘ the Benefits she had received of *Prince*
‘ *Ragotski*, when he espoused her, unless
‘ the Emperour thought convenient to
‘ give her an equal Value, and that she
‘ could take all that belonged to her in
‘ particular in *Mongatz*; but that all the
‘ States of her Children, and their Digni-
‘ ties should be left to the Emperour, and
‘ that he should be their Guardian. 5. That
‘ she should be bound to restore upon
‘ Oath all that belonged to Count *Teckely*,
‘ and them who were still with him. 6.
‘ That the Emperour should take care to
‘ have her Children brought up as he
‘ would think the most convenient. 7.
‘ That the *Princess* should not acquaint
‘ *Teckely* of the surrender of the place, nor
‘ of the Reasons why she had done it. 8.
‘ That leave should be granted her to
‘ tarry in it, till she had settled her Affairs,
‘ and the Equipage that was to carry her
‘ to *Vienna* should be ready. Two days
after the conclusion of this Treaty the
place was surrendred into the hands of
the Imperialists, altho’ the *Princess* did
not go out of it presently after, for the
reasons we have said already. They
say she bore her ill Fortune with great
Constancy, and that she hath never ex-
pressed any sign of Weakness.

In the mean while, it happened a thing
that

that might have served mightily to re-establish the Affairs of the *Turks*, and of the *Malecontents*, if the *Turks* had served themselves of the occasion, as they should have done: It was, that the Troops the Duke of *Lorraine* had left in *Transylvania*, instead of observing the Treaty that had been made, committed infinite Disorders, and lived as they pleased upon free Quarters, by reason they were not paid, according to their ancient Custom. It may be too that the Imperial Court was not sorry that its Troops would revenge itself, because *Abaffi* had assisted the *Malecontents* during many years; and indeed he deserved as much, for having done too little since he sided with that Party, and too much to be regarded as a Friend by the Emperour. The *Transylvanians* sent to *Vienna* to complain of the Ravages the Imperial Troops committed in their Country, and to represent, that if the Treaty was not kept by the Emperour's Party; it would not be observed neither by themselves. Upon those Complaints, *Caraffa* received order to go into *Transylvania*, where instead of satisfying the *Transylvanians* by a good Discipline, he complained by turns, as if they had failed to execute several Articles of the Treaty. Thus the *Transil-*

vanians found themselves more grieved by that General's coming than they were before. And yet to show that he was willing to give them some Satisfaction, he offered to ease them in removing those Soldiers Quarters, provided they would pay some certain Sum of Money to the Emperour ; but that Sum was so excessive that it was impossible it could be found in *Transilvania*.

A little while after the Grand Seignour sent a Chioux to *Abassi*, to sollicite him to brake the Treaty he had made with the Emperour, upon the Word he gave him to succour him the next Campaign. But because all these were but words, and that the ill Success of the Campaigns that were past, gave little hopes to see the Effects of it, *Abasti* had rather carry himself discreetly, and keep fair with the Court of *Vienna*, who was able to punish him for his Inconstancy. Nevertheless, the carriage of the German Army was such that it hindered the Hospodar of *Walaenia*, solicited by the Emperour to side with him openly, from falling into that Snare.

Teckely, who was in his way for *Constantinople*, did not go very far, thinking that his Remoteness would cast all them that remained still his Friends into a Despair,

spair, and that after the taking of *Mon-garz* his Presence was absolutely necessary: When therefore he had joyned his Troops, it wanted very little but he had been surprized hard by *Waradin* by General *Hensler*, who set upon him unprepared: but having retired himself suddenly to *Giula* with his Horse, he avoided the Danger, and his Foot was wholly defeated. Some of his Enemies that were then at the Port, made their Endeavours, at that time, to ruine him by reason of his Absence; going about to perswade, That in betraying the Interest of the Grand Seigneur, he durst not come up to *Constaminople*, after having given his word that he would come. But those Accusations appeared so ill grounded, and those who were acquainted with the condition *Hungary* was then in, knew so evidently the contrary, that they had no effect at all. On the contrary, the Sultan sent to him to assure him of his Protection, and to confirm upon him the Title of *Prince of Hungary*, which *Mahomet* the Fourth had given him: he presented him in the same time with a Semiter enriched with precious Stones, and exhorted him to make use of it against his Enemies, with the same Faithfulness he had done till then. Not-

withstanding there was a Report that he had been strangled by the order of the Port; and to undeceive them who befriended him still, he caused this *Manifesto* to be published:

Count *Teckely's* Declaration published in
March 1688.

YE People of Hungary, it is long ago since your Enemies and mine have published my Death; and nevertheless I am alive still, God be thanked, to defend your oppressed Liberty. I know it is to your sorrow, that you follow for the present the Standards of the House of Austria; it is too long ago since you know it, to trust yourselves to it: And what has lately hapned in the pretended Election of a King of Hungary, makes you know plainly how much both your Lives and your Fortunes would be in a Danger, if you were compelled to obey him: We are forced to dissemble, because the conjuncture ye are in will have it so; but I know your hearts as I know mine, I know ye have an horrour for all that ye do, and that they hate them that are a preparing their Chains, although they be bound to bear them, by reason of the Charges they enjoy in the Kingdom.

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Is it not a shameful thing, for Count Esterhazy, to have made a private suit for the Dignity of Count of the Empire, as if that of Palatine of Hungary was not without comparison much above it? Is that the Steward of all the base Treasons he has been guilty of against you? And is it possible that a Man who has the Honour to be in my Alliance*, would disgrace me and all the Nation? I had rather see my State and my Goods in the hands of my Enemies, than to enjoy them at that rate: What Proffers have they not made me to forsake you? Do they not do the same still every day, if I were willing to accept them? But if God has resolved that I should be Unfortunate, it is not possible I should be Guilty; and rather than betray you, I would expose myself: I drew the Sword for you, as soon as I was able to wield it; and I have undergone a thousand Dangers in your Service: I have contemned Swords and Poison, and I am still exposed every day to both by my Constancy to you. But I prefer a glorious Death to shameful Life, being perswaded that ye will always confess that I deserve a better Fortune.

* His Brother has married Count Teckely's Sister.

But 'tis not time yet to be out of Hopes, ye know that I am under the Protection of a powerful Empire, and that it is ready still to receive you under its Protection: If it has met with some Crosses of Fortune, it is not in a danger for all that to be overthrowen; if it had lost all that it holds in Europe, which it is very far off, yet of it remains still two Parts of the World wherein it commands. It had not so much of Strenght when it Overthrew the Empire of the East, and that of the West doth not come near to its Power. It is not time then yet to say, as they do every day, That there is wanting but a little Strength to run it quite down. Your Enemies and mine are perswaded of it in the bottom of their Hearts: That is the only reason why they moderate still the Passion they are in, to spill to the very last drop of our Bloud. Do you not remember that they have shed, without having been provoked, in so many Rencontres, and how they have put the Arms in the Executioners hands when theirs were weary of using them? Is there any one amongst you, that may boast himself, that he has not lost a Brother, or a Nephew, or a Kinsman, or a Friend in that great Effusion of Bloud that has been
newly

newly made by General Caraffa? What is, has been the Success of your Complaints, although ye have clearly proved, that he did nothing else than to rob the Fatherless, and Motherless, and Widow. They have made as if they had sent some Orders that the strict Forms of Proceedings in Law should be observed: but ye have seen whether they have been performed. Since he has received them, we may reckon, you and I, above two hundred Persons he has condemned by his own Authority; and to whom he has answered uncivilly, when they have begged leave to justify themselves, That their Tryals would be performed after they had been executed.

How long will ye bear, ye brave Hungarians, their Triumph over your Innocency? If you be designed to perish, is it not better to do it having your Arms in your hands, than to be put to death by an infamous Hang-man? Make some Endeavours to get out of the shameful Slavery wherein you are, seeing you want nothing else but the Will to do it: The Power of your Enemies is not so great as you think. How can it be, since I scorn it? And if you had helped me with all your Forces, what condition should we have been in? Do not tarry till ye be weaker.

weaker than ye are now. They do not endeavour to weaken you, but to render you absolutely incapable of shaking off the tyrannical Yoke which they are preparing for you so many Years since.

Soliman, now Emperour of the Turks, offers you his Hand to draw you out of Oppression. A Prince of his Name has been formerly the Terror of those you are dreading now-a-days; and although we must not give credit to Prophecies which come from thence, I cannot forbear from telling you, that the Turks are a disbulging, they have one, according to which their Empire almost overthrow, is to become more flourishing than ever, under a Prince of that Name. Do but joyn with me, that it might be found true, since your Safety as well as mine depends for ever upon our Union with those People: They have supported us during many Years, as we have supported them by turns. We have always acted unanimously: Why should we give over a Conduct which has turned so much to our good?

What can you expect from your Enemies Promises? Do but look upon the Prince of Transilvania, and you will see how they have abused his Credulity: What good doth he got for having made

a Treaty with a People that will not observe a single Article of it? But there is no need to fetch Instances from abroad: How many times have they broken their Word they had given you? Or to speak more proper, Is there any one amongst you, who can remember that they have kept it to him? They seek for no other thing but to engage you into a Treaty, to deceive you the better; and your Faithfulness hath not been rewarded but by the blackest Treachery. They endeavour to make you fall into the Snare, under the specious names of Amity and of Peace. I require no more from you, but that you would make some Reflections upon it; and I am confident that afterwards you will become wiser.

That, if all that I have said be not capable to stir your Minds, do but consider at least, nothing moves me to speak as I have done, but your own Interest. I can, when I please, make mine Agreement upon such Conditions, which could appear advantageous enough to a Man that would have forgotten the Care he ought to have for the Liberty of his Country: But seeing, thanks to God, I never lost the memory of it, since I came to the Age of Knowledge, I will remember

member it the better now I am to revenge so many of my brave Countrymen: We should, as well as I, hear their Voices which intreat us, not to bear without Revenge the wrongful shedding of their Blood. Believe me, do not defer a thing so necessary for the Security of yourselves, seeing this Impunity increases the Presumption of your Enemies, their Punishment on the contrary will render them more cautious in undertaking any thing against you.

Those Reasons had very little success, they not being backed by any Army capable to give a Shelter to the *Hungarians*, who had declared themselves for *Teckely*. Those that favoured him privately, were informed by this Declaration that the *Turks* had not put him to death; but they were not in a capacity to help him otherways than with their Wishes and Prayers. Thus he tarried a long while about *Giula* without undertaking any thing. It is reported, that the *Turks* fearing that he being weary at last of so many Crosses of Fortune, he would reconcile himself to the Emperour, got him to be watched so near, that he could do nothing but they were acquainted with it. Some great Disorders happened

ed a little while after at the Port, where the Chiaoux made a new Vizier, who had brought up *Soliman* upon the Throne, was treacherously murdered by the Seditious, and the Grand Seignior himself was in a eminent danger of being Deposed. He could not get off but by appeasing the mutiny'd Troops with a great deal of Money, and causing some of the hottest to be strangled: He created Vizier *Ismael Bacha* in the room of the Chiaoux, and published every-where, that he would go into *Hungary* at the head of the Armies, or at least to *Adrianople*, to be nearer to them, and readier to send them the necessary Orders. It was ordered in the mean while, that all the Preparations should be got ready against the next Campaigne.

The first thing they did to the Princess *Ragotski*, after her arrival at *Vienna*, was to take away her Children from her, and to get them to be brought up in the *Romish* Religion, instead of the *Lutheran*, wherein they had been instructed, since their Mother was married to *Count Teckely*. This last having had notice they had carried his Wife to *Vienna*, petitioned for to have leave to write to her; which was denied him by the Emperour's Officers. Notwithstanding, because

cause it was a hard matter to surprize him, what measures soever they could take ; they thought to have found out the means to make him away in corrupting two of his Troops Officers, who engaged some Souldiers in their Conspiracy, and who had executed it, had it not been discovered: But they having been betrayed by some amongst them, they were all hanged, with a Bill wherein one could read these words, *Traytor to his Prince, to his Religion, and Country.* The Army expressed a great Joy that that Plot had been discovered ; and abused the very dead Bodies of those unfortunate Men. A little while after the *Hungarians* of St. Job's Garison, and many of those that had been at *Mongatz*, came to surrender themselves to him, because, notwithstanding the Amnistry, they were used very ill at all times, and that the least Fault in them was punished by Death ; they perceived there was no trusting upon the Imperialists Promises, after having been in Arms against them ; and that they had forgiven them what was past, only till they could find an opportunity to destroy them. That Conduct of the Imperialists is the cause that *Teckely* has not been seen yet without a little Body of *Hungarians*, become irre-

irreconcilable to the *Germans*. He was then upon the Frontiers of *Transilvania* with eight thousand Men, and raised some considerable Contributions out of the Neighbourhood in spite of the Imperialists: These last would leave wholly *Transilvania*, where Count *Caraffa* left four thousand Men to hinder *Abaftri* from making a new Treaty with the Port, that solicited him to it a long while. In the mean time he drew towards *Esseck*, and a little while after the Garrison of *Alba-Regalis*, destitute of Provisions and Succours, and without hope of getting any, perswaded the Bassa to surrender himself to some *German* Troops that intercepted the Victuals coming to them many Months. *Teckely* received this news with Sorrow; and the *Turks* fearing lest he should retire into *Poland*, obliged him to take a new Oath of Fidelity, and gave him new Assurances that they would not forsake him. In the Month of *June* he attempted to surprize *Chonod*, without any success.

On the contrary, every thing seem'd to favour the Imperialists, and the Elector of *Bavaria* being the only Commander of the Army, during the Sickness of the Duke of *Lorrain*, passed the *Save* in *August*, and took *Belgrade* the seventh of the

the next Month, altho' they had got some Succours into it in the beginning of the Siege. True it is, that that place was not very strong, but there were in it almost all that remained of the good Troops the *Turks* had in *Hungary*, and the *Port* was very much concerned in the keeping of it. The Imperialists, having got that Town, were in a condition of plundering every where to the very Gates of *Adrianople*, and to render themselves Masters of *Servia*, *Bosnia*, and *Bulgaria*; because there is no other considerable place in those Provinces. The *Bassa* of *Bosnia* who was a marching with some Troops to come to the Relief of *Belgrade*, not only began his march too late, but besides he was defeated by Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* who went to encounter him. The Grand Seignior, whom the Seditions had detained at *Constantinople*, and who was not able to send a considerable Army into the Field, had sent, before he had the News of the Siege of *Belgrade*, some Envoys to speak of Peace with the Emperor. They arrived immediately after the taking of that place, and understood by that it was still more necessary to come to some Agreement, which they did not think at *Constantinople*. It is very probable it had been soon

soon concluded, if the Emperor had not made excessive Demands of the *Turks*, and if these last had not been so much the more encouraged as soon as they knew that *Lewis* the 14th, King of *France*, was at the end of *September* entered into the Territories of the Empire, and had declared a War against the Emperour. That made the next Year a great Diverſion, but becauſe that is a thing that belongs to the general Hiſtory of the Empire we ſhall not ſtick to it. We ſhall ſay nothing neither of the Enterprize which *William Henry of Naſſau, Prince of Orange*, performed at the end of that Year in *England*, where after he had re-eſta bliſhed the Laws, he was made King of *Great Britain*. Yet we muſt own that made not a little to hinder the Diverſion, the King of *France* would have made in favour of the *Turks* and the *Malecontents* of *Hungary*, from being ſo conſiderable. So that tho' the King of *France* had deſigned to make an happy Uſe of the Pretexts which the Rules of good Politicks ſuggeſted to him, to prevent the exceſſive Greatneſs of the Emperour; yet he was obliged to turn the beſt part of his Troops againſt *England*,

*Terms taken out of
the Declaration of War
of France, dated the
24th of September,
1688.*

and

and *Holland*, which hindered him from acting along while against the Emperor, with the Forces necessary to make him abandon *Hungary*.

Count *Teckely* having had notice sometimes, that the *French* Army had attacked the Empire, did not fail to make it known every-where, and let the People understand how the King of *France* was a going to put the Emperour and the Empress into such a Confusion, that the *Turks* should soon have the upper-hand in *Hungary*, which must be quitted by the *Germans*, who would now be forced to defend their own Country. And he made it his endeavour to persuade the *Hungarians* to take hold of that opportunity, to rid themselves again of the Despotical Government of the House of *Austria*. But the same Reasons which hindered his Declaration from having any Success, prevented also the Effects of this Admonition. The Diversion *France* was capable of making, was too far off to compell the Imperialists suddenly to meet it, for they suffered *Philipsbourgh*, *Spire*, *Worms*, and the *Palatinate* to be taken, before they sent any Troops that way. They acted the rest of that Year, according to the same manner, as if *Germany* had enjoyed a perfect Peace.

And

And yet they will have us assured, that the little Army of Count *Teckely* was in a better case, and better paid than before, altho' the *Turks* did not then supply them, as 'twas reported, with any Money, which caused the People to have some suspicion, that the same Power that attacked the Empire upon the *Rhine*, did furnish them with what they wanted, by sending their Leader secretly Bills of Exchange.

Whether it was true, or no, *Teckely* was a making endeavours to encourage the *Hungarians*, and to perswade the *Transilvanians* and *Walaquians* to joyn with the *Turks*, and deliver themselves from the Yoke of the *Germans*. The Emperor had already concluded a Treaty with the Hospodar of *Walaquia*, but that Treaty became fruitless by the death of this last; which gave Count *Teckely* some hopes to have good success on that side. It was thought the Son of the Hospodar should succeed his Father, but the States elected their Chancellor, by reason of the necessity of the present juncture of Affairs, which required an able Man for the Management of their Affairs. The Emperor having had notice of it, thought it necessary to lay hold of the wavering condition People are always in at the begin-

beginning of a Principality; and made as if he had been willing to support the Son of the Deceased, unless the new Hospodar would declare himself for him: That Prince, lest he should incur the Hatred of the *Turks*, in forsaking them openly, and to carry himself discreetly, and keep fair with the Emperour, gave out, He was ready to enter into a Negotiation with him; and declared he would send an Embassador to *Vienna* to that purpose.

In the beginning of the Year 1689, *Teckely* sent his Secretary to the Hospodar, to congratulate his new Dignity, and to assure him, the Count would always have a great Consideration for him: He told him, at the same time, it was not true the *Turks* had given their word to his Master to make him Hospodar, and that to give him an Evidence of it, he did promise him, in the name of the Grand Signior, sufficient Succours if he would declare himself for the Port against the Emperour. The Hospodar used *Teckely's* Envoy very well, but he would do nothing, which could make the Imperialists to turn their Arms against him. About the same time the Count wrote a Letter to the Grand Vizier

Vizier at *Constantinople*, which, they thought convenient to publish throughout the Town, whereof they sent Copies into several parts of the *Ottoman* Empire; because it was very fit to raise the Peoples courage, that after the taking of *Belgrade*, presently expected to see the Imperialists before *Constantinople*. That Letter gave notice that if his Highness was willing to do what he could in *Hungary*, the People being as dissatisfied with the *Germans*, as they ever were, they would not fail to rebel again: That the Hospodar of *Walaquia* would fall out with the Emperor, and would remain faithful to the Port: That *Abaffi* was in the same disposition, and would for certain declare himself openly, as soon, as he could do it with Security; that the King of *France* having passed the *Rhine*, with prodigious Forces, much better commanded and provided of all things than those of the *Germans*; he had taken there already several Places, and whole Provinces, and that neither the Emperor, nor the Empire were in a capacity to act in *Hungary* with the same Vigor as before: That it was at last the best opportunity the *Turks* could find to retrieve their Affairs in that Kingdom. That the latter had such success in the Army, which could

could scarce dispose itself to march into *Hungary*, thinking it no less then certain death, by reason of the losses the *Turks* sustained since the beginning of the War.

In the mean while *Mauro Cordato*, first Interpreter and *Effendi*, whom the *Port* had sent to the Emperor, and who had not been willing to open themselves to any Body but himself, offered to leave him the Conquests he had made in *Hungary*, if he would conclude a Peace. But they laughed at that Proposal, because the *Turks* offered only what they must lose; they pretended they should quit to the Emperor all that they kept still in *Hungary*, and they should go out of *Bosnia*, *Servia* and *Slavonia*, demanding besides some great Sums of Money, those Provinces being not capable, said they, to make amends for the charges of the War. All the Offers of the *Turks* seemed too small matter to the Victorious Imperialists, the Demands of the Imperialists were looked upon by the *Port* to be excessive, so that that Embassy was quite in vain; the Envoys having had no other order than to propose the yielding up of what the Emperor had gotten, nor having received any since, so that after having kept some Years, strictly enough, they have

have been forced to let them go.

The Grand Vizier not perceiving any Success of the Embassy, went about to prepare himself for the War, and got the most, he could, of the Troops out of *Asia*. The Grand Seignior was much streightned for want of Money, and they did not know how to raise some speedily, because they durst not gather the Taxes with too much violence, least new Seditions should arise, which they had been too much used to, since the Elevation of *Soliman* upon the Throne. That is the fate of the Despotical Empire, they are not to lay heavy Burdens upon their Subjects, tho' for the necessary Succours they want, after having charged them without Necessity: As there is no other Justice, than the Will of the Sovereign, which is as unconstant as his Passions, there is no Obedience neither amongst the Subjects, but as much as they can be brought to it by Force, which cannot be always equal.

In the mean while the Greatness of the *Ottoman* Empire afforded them nevertheless many Helps, and the Vizier was soon in a readiness to send fifty thousand Men into *Hungary*; whereof he sent some part towards *Adrianople* in the Spring. The Imperialists on their side had

begun, in the middle of the Winter, to block up *Themiswear*, which they intended to besiege the next Campaign. *Tec-kely* acquainted the *Turks* with it, and let them understand, that if they would send him some Succours, he would not only throw it into *Themiswear*, but also seize upon one part of *Transilvania*, which was weary of the Imperialists, and who would be glad to lay hold on that Opportunity to declare themselves against them. He kept always some Correspondency in *Hungary*, and Letters with Cyphers were intercepted, written to some of his Friends; which made the People have a suspicion that there was a Design under hand, but it could not be discovered. It happened in the same time, that is to say, in *April*, that some Houses were set on fire at *O-nod*, and some other Towns of *Hungary* and *Transilvania*, which was laid upon the Emissaries of the Malecontents, although they could not prove it.

The *Turks* sent some Succours to *Tec-kely*, who endeavoured to lead them to *Themiswear*; but having been wounded as he was forcing a Passage, he was forced to go back towards *Walaquia*, expecting the *Turkish* Army, which was meeting together at *Sophia* in *Bulgaria*.

That

That caused the Imperialists to apply themselves about fortifying *Belgrade*, as well as it could possibly, seeing the Confusion and the Charges occasioned by the War the Emperour had upon the *Rhine*, did put him in ; because the *Turks* are very bad Ingeniers, they thought indifferent Fortifications, or rather some Reparations in the old ones would serve to defend the Place ; which has been the cause it has been lost since. They blocking up *Cavis* a long while since, which being very remote from the Frontiers of the subdued Countries, suffered much for Want, without being willing to surrender. They betook themselves too to block up *Great Waradin*, and they began by plundering and spoiling the Country round about the place, to hinder the Garrison from having any means to subsist. They expected to attaque, by that means, three Places at once, the two Towns we have already spoken of, and that of *Themiswear*, because the *Turks*, being a great way off, could not carry Victuals thither, but with great difficulty, chiefly to *Canisa*, which was the remotest of all ; but they could not hinder some Convoys from getting at several times into *Themiswear* and *Waradin*.

Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* went to *Bel-*

grade to command a little Body of an Army which was there, with an intent to observe the *Turks* March, and to watch the opportunities to do them some Damage. The Imperial Troops being so divided, those that were about *Waradin* did not find themselves strong enough to keep the Garrison within the Place; for after having repelled it back twice with great difficulty, they were wholly defeated at the third Sally, and their Commander made a Prisoner; five or six hundred of them remained dead upon the Spot, the rest betook themselves to their Heels. *Teckely* did the best he could, on his side, to raise the Blockade of *Themiswear*, which felt already great Incommodities, for not having been provided with Victuals. But because he had been necessitated to pass the *Danube*, and to retire into *Servia*, lest he should be surrounded with the Imperial Troops which were on the other side of the *Danube*, it was a hard matter to come over it again: The Imperialists had garrisoned all the little Places which are along the River, to hinder the Communication the *Turks* of *Hungary* had with those of *Servia*. *Teckely* set upon one of those Towns called *Novigrad*, upon the Frontiers of *Bulgaria*, and made the Garrison

son of it Prisoners of War. After the taking of that place, three thousand *Walaquians* came to him, in spite of General *Heuster*, who lay upon the Frontiers of *Walaquia* with a Body of Troops to oppose to the Designs of the Count. The *Walaquians* feared extreamly, least the Imperialists should enter into their Territories, as they had done into those of the *Transilvanians*, and use them as they pleas'd; but they committed the same fault as the last had done, that is, that instead of acting openly for the *Turks*, and making all their Endeavours to support that wavering Party, they did but help them under-hand; a Conduct that did but irritate the Emperour, but not hinder him from quartering his Troops amongst them. The *Moldavians* did also the same, and found themselves at last exposed to the same Troubles, altho' a little less by reason of their being afar off.

In the mean while Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* was advanced, in *July*, as far as the River *Morave*, to observe the *Turkish* Army's March; having had notice, that that Army was stronger than his, which consisted not of full thirty thousand Men, that the *Turks* was fifty thousand, he returned the same way; and to increase his Army, he got the Fortifica-

tions of many little Towns to be levelled to the Ground, along the *Danube*, and took out of them the Troops that were in Garrison therein. The *Turks* having seen the Christian Army return towards *Belgrade*, passed the River *Morave* to follow it; but having had notice they had received some Reinforcement from *Transilvania*, went back again over the River, and retired themselves towards *Nissa*, where they intrenched themselves. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* failed not to follow them, but there fell such a quantity of Rain, that it was impossible to overcome the difficulty of the Ways; and the Provisions having begun to grow scarce, they were forced to return back towards the Bridges they had laid over the *Morave*, hard by *Passarowis*: The Army arrived there at the end of *August*, and was soon followed by that of the *Turks*, who believed the Christians did fly from them a second time: The Infidels made a great Detachment of their Cavalry, supported by some Janisaries, to disturb the March of the Christian Army, and endeavour to intercept the Convoys, which would come from *Semandria*, where the Magazines of the Christians were. But that Detachment was defeated the 29 of *August*,

August, and betook it self to flight, after having lost five or six hundred Men. The next day the Christian Army advanced to that of the *Turks*, who expected them, being regularly drawn in Battalia beyond a Wood.

The Christians had crossed the Wood, and their Infantry was drawn up in Battel-array in the Plain beyond it, under the favour of a Mist, when the Weather clearing up, made the *Turks* perceive the Fault they had committed, in letting almost all the Enemy's Army to pass without having made any Opposition: Upon which they came forward to charge it with much Fury, but having been received with great Valour, they gave back; and the Christian Army having advanced accordingly, the Horse had room enough to enlarge their Wings, and to assault the Infidels: Presently they gave way every-where, and they had been cut into pieces, if the Ground had not been incumbered with Woods and Entrenchments, beyond which the *Turks* did rally, and which were to be forced one after another. Having been repelled thus, they retired into their Camp, where it was thought they would hold out; but they were so much affrighted, that as soon as they perceived

some Imperial Regiments appear, they left it, with all their Cannon and Ammunition, and also the best part of their Baggage. The Christian Army went to encamp itself in it, and found therein almost a hundred Pieces of Cannon, and much Ammunitions for War, of which they were in great want. Those of the *Turks* were commanded by a *Serasquier*, a Title which signifies a General in the *Turkish* Language, and which doth not belong to any Dignity of the Court; it was composed of some disciplined Souldiers of *Europe* and *Asia*, but chiefly of new raised Troops, uncapable to stand against Veteran Souldiers, as were the Imperialists: however, the *Turks* sustained not altogether so great Losses, because their Troops did not persist obstinately to defend the Posts committed to their Guard, but did flie before they were pursued too close.

During the Christians and the *Turks* were seeking one another for fighting, Count *Teckely* seized upon *Otsowa* upon the *Danube*, towards *Transilvania*, abandoned by the Imperialists, to try whether he could throw some Succours into *Themiswear*: But having had order from the Vizier to march towards *Nissa*, to reinforce the *Turkish* Army, he gave over

over that Design. He was not for all that in the Defeat, the Orders he received coming too late, or not having made hast enough. Whether it was through Prudence or Chance, he had not been yet in any great Army of the *Turks*, when they had been resolved to fight : however, such were his Circumstances as render'd it his best Policy to avoid it, as every ways dangerous for him, because being engaged to venture himself upon such an occasion, to encourage the *Turks* by his Example, and to get their Esteem ; it might have unluckily happened that he had been taken by the Imperialists, for want of not being constantly and sufficiently sustained and supported by the *Turks*. On the contrary, if he had mannaged himself, the *Turk* would have believed, that he did not rely upon them ; therefore they had accused him of Cowardize or Treachery, according to the Success of the Fight. Thus it was more safe for him to shun the Occasions, where there was every way so great Danger.

The Imperial Army having tarried some days in the *Turkish* Camp, to rest themselves, they thought it convenient to send back one part of it, for fear lest they should want Victuals, and to

march with the other towards *Nissa*; in hopes to prevail there if possible, thro' the Consternation the *Turks* were in, before they had time to recollect themselves. The Prince of *Baden* marched at the head of sixteen thousand Men toward *Nissa*, as speedily as he could: He came thither the 23d of *September*, and found the Enemy well entrenched before the Place. He disposed the Army in order to fight, although the Enemy was stronger by half, but they never went out of their Lines. The next day the Imperial Army marched to look for some weak side, and to assault the Enemy that way: it went along their Camp, during some hours, without discovering any place whereby they could set upon them; but at last they found one side covered by a Hill, which was not entrenched, and it was resolved to attack them that way. The *Turks* perceiving the Resolution of the Christians, posted upon the top of it a body of Janisaries, and began to entrench themselves. The Christian Army commanded some Regiments to advance, to remove the Janisaries; and the *Turks* sent some Spahes to attack the Christians in the Flank, during that Encounter; but the Christian Horses presently advanced to receive the Spahes, and

and repelled them easily enough. The Janisaries made a greater Resistance, but at last the Imperialists made them run, and carried some Cannon upon the rising Ground, whence they began to play upon the *Turkish* Camp; the Spahees came to the Charge again, and the Janisaries stood firm a little way off; but the Spahees having been broken, betook themselves to the flight in earnest, without minding of turning back; the Janisaries fired once upon them to force them to turn back, which increased their Disorder: So that the Serafquier seeing there was no way for the rallying of his Troops, scared by the loss of two Fights, thought it was high time to fly away: the Night, and Weariness of the Imperialists, who had been in Arms since the Morning, made their Retreat the more easie, and hindered them from being pursued. The Christian Army spent that night in the *Turks* Camp, where it had time and the means to refresh itself with the Provisions it found in it. The next day it entered *Nissa* without disturbance, the Town not being fortified. Three thousand Horse were presently detached, to march towards *Sophia*, whether the Serafquier was fled: They came again some days after, and upon the Report

port they brought concerning the *Turks* Consternation, and the Goodness of the Country, it was resolved to leave one part of the Army at *Nissa*, to spend there the Winter, and fortifie in some manner that place. During the time the Prince of *Baden* was at *Nissa*, the Serafquier sent him *Mustapha Aga*, to beseech him to give a Pass-port and a Convoy to go to *Vienna*, and joyn the other Embassadors of the Port. The Prince granted him what he petitioned for, but that new Envoy had no new Proposals to make: they acquainted him, it may be, with the Diversion of *France*, least they should conclude any thing.

Teckely having heard of the Defeat of the *Turkish* Army at *Nissa*, while he was in his March, took his way towards *Sirlestria*; thence he went to *Sophia*, where the Grand Vizier was, and got thither the 19th of *October*, follow'd with a matter of a hundred Persons, after having left the Troops he commanded, which were encamped some Miles off of the Town. The Vizier welcomed him very well, and presented him with a magnificent Vest, and some gallant Horses: he certified him the Grand Seignior was extreamly well satisfied with his Conduct; exhorted him to continue to act with

with Vigor against the common Enemy, and assured him of the Protection of the Port. The Count had many Discourses with the Vizier, and the other *Turkish* Officers, to consider what might be done to stop the Imperialists Progress: While they were a consulting together, they had notice that the Prince of *Baden* had taken his March from *Nissa* towards the *Danube*, where he made himself Master of *Widden*, a place of moment to pass into *Walaquia*, where he had a mind to give his Troops Winter-quarters: he was arrived before that Place the 14th of *October*, had beaten two Bassa's encamp'd thereabout, and reduced it to surrender four days after, although he had but four Field-pieces, the great Cannon not being come from *Semandria*. The Vizier, very sorry for this News, ordered *Teckely* to go to *Nicopoli*, to prevent the Designs they might have upon that Place, and to endeavour to retake *Widden*, if it was possible.

In the mean time General *Picolomini*, who had tarried at *Nissa* with some part of the Army, made some Incursions in the neighbouring Countries: but returning to *Nissa*, he died of a Cholick at *Pristina*, leaving the command of the Army to the Duke of *Holstein*, till the Em-

Emperour had named a new Commander. The Duke of *Holstein* beat again several times the *Turks* in *Servia*; but the Advantages and Progress of the Imperialists carried every day, having rendered them too bold, their Career and Progress was checkt by a considerable Loss that befel them:

Not having had notice that a Body of ten thousand *Tartars*, delivered at last of the fear they were in of the *Polanders*, who had resolved to keep themselves upon the defensive, had pass'd the *Danube*, and joyned the *Turks*, they continued their March without fear, whither they speeded to find some Booty or Enemies. One day, that five Regiments were advancing with speed to surprize a Body of *Turkish* Troops, they found themselves surrounded by the Infidels, four times stronger than they were, and were all cut off, very few scaping to carry the news of that Defeat.

Prince *Charles* of *Hanover* perish'd amongst many other Persons of note, in spite of a vigorous Resistance, not having been willing to accept any Quarter.

This engaged the Duke of *Holstein* to look about himself more carefully than before; and the General *Peteranin*, who came

came to Command in the Room of *Picolomini*, retired all his Troops to *Nissa*; least in leaving them divided, the *Tartars* should surprize them, as they had lately done the four or five Thousand Men, whom they had cut in Pieces.

The Prince of *Baden*, after having left a Garrison in *Widden*, to have always a free Passage over the *Danube*, passed that River to enter into *Walaquia*, and sent to the Hospodar, he was a coming to leave there Six Regiments in Winter Quarters, to secure his Country against the *Tartars*. The Hospodar and the States fearing equally, offered the Imperialists a considerable Sum of Money, to free themselves from Lodging those Troops, and represented also that, Six Regiments quartered amongst them were capable indeed to draw upon themselves the *Tartars*, but not to stand against those Infidels. For that Reasons sake they intreated them to give them more; but at last they come again to the Number of Six, and engaged themselves to entertain them, and to remount those of the Horse-men, who had lost their Horses. The Prince charged those Troops to Build some Forts in the Places, from whence they feared the *Tartars* should come; and conveyed the rest
of

of his Troops into *Transilvania*, after he took his way to *Vienna*.

Altho' the *Tartars* had not obtained a great advantage upon the Imperialists, and that in going on at that Rate, there was great hopes for the *Turks* to recover what they had lost; the Grand Vizier and the *Caimacan* were both Arrested, and Strangled, as having ill Managed the Affairs of their Master. *Cuperli Ogli*, *Bassa* of *Chio*, was made Grand Vizier, and another *Bassa* of the same name got the *Caimacan's* place. After that they sent a Courier to *Vienna*, to carry a Letter to the Emperor, and new Instructions to the Envoys that were there.

That Courier Arrived in the beginning of the Year 1690, and presented to the Emperor the Grand Seignor's Letter, which contained only some General Propositions concerning the Peace. It was thought the Envoys knew something more, and because they demanded eagerly to know the Emperors Pretentions, that they might acquaint their Master with them, they received these Conditions in Writing: 1. That the Grand Seignor should leave to the Emperor all that was remaining still in Hungary, with *Bosnia*, and all its Dependencies, without ever pretending

pretending any thing in it. 2. That Moldavia, Walaquia, and the Republick of Ragusa, should be comprehended in the Treaties of Peace, and should not be disquieted by the Turks. 3. That the Tartars should be sent Home. 4. That the Port should Pay Six Millions of Gold for the Charges of the War, and two Millions Yearly, to Purchase leave for Transporting upon the Danube what they would to Constantinople. 5. That they should Restore all the Christians that had been taken since the beginning of the War. 6. That Teckely, and all those of his Party, should be delivered into the Hands of the Emperor. These Proposals having appeared too Excessive to the Envoys, their Answer provoked the Imperial Council to Anger. They proposed only to quit to the Emperor what remained in the Upper Hungary, upon that Condition, they should leave Belgrade, Nissa, and all that he had conquered beyond the Save. Upon these Proposals they were ordered to get themselves ready to Depart the 25th of Jan. and at that very time they Embarkt upon the Danube, which they descended as far as Comora, where two of them being fallen Sick, they were forced to tarry. The Year ensuing they were sent to Puttendorf, to Renew it, but in vain.

They

They disposed themselves in the mean while at *Vienna*, to carry on the War, as Vigorously as they could, and amongst several Opinions Startled up, two, they say, were the Chief: The first was to Continue in sending a Great Body of Troops into *Servia*, to Act there against the *Turks*, and carry further the Conquests they had made, and to Fortifie *Nissa*. The other Advice was to leave those new Conquests, and to Exhaust *Servia* wholly, to apply themselves to Fortifie *Belgrade*, which was not done. All that wanted to be done, according to the Opinion of those that proposed this Second Advice, was to Reduce *Giula*, *Themiswear*, and *Great Waradin*, to be quite Masters of *Hungary*, and keep themselves afterwards upon the Defensive.

Those, who were for the first Opinion, represented that it would be a shameful thing, and that it would express a great weakness, to quit what had been Conquered: That that Conduct would not fail to raise the Enemies Courage, and to give them some new Hopes, That in the weakness and the fear they were in, there was only need to Repel them, and that that would quite put them in Disorder; that so much the nearer they should approach *Constantinople*, so much the

the more the Seditions should be more Frequent, and by Consequence the Grand Seignior should be more uncapable to gather a Powerful Army: That the *Moldavians*, and *Walaquians*, would Declare themselves for the *Turks*, as soon as they could perceive they were a Retiring: That the places, which remained in *Hungary*, should fall of themselves into the Emperor's Hands, if they continued to Intercept the Provisions, and that so much the Easier, by keeping the *Turkish* Army farther off of the Frontiers of *Hungary*: That an Indifferent Army could do what they wanted, by reason that the most part of the Old *Turkish* Troops were dead, and that henceforth the Army could be compos'd only of Souldiers newly raised by Force. They strengthened that Opinion with many other specious Reasons, and so much the more agreeable to them who had no Skill in Wars, that they seemed to agree with their desires, as more honourable to the Imperial Arms.

On the other side they asserted, the *Turkish* Forces were not so small, nor so contemptible as they thought, because, if they were helped by the *Tartars*, as it was probable they should be, they should be in a Case to Beat the Imperial Armies,

Armeis, whereof they were obliged to make too many Detachments, and to keep them too Remote one from the other, and that they could cut them off, if they did Fight them, one after another, they not being able to help themselves reciprocally: That it was impossible to entertain an Army in *Servia*, because the *Turks* and *Tartars* had Ruined it, and would Ruine it still more: That if they had the worst in a Battel, as that might happen, the farther advanced they would be, the more difficult it would be to Retreat, which would put the whole Army to Flight; that they should not consider it as a small matter to reduce all *Hungary* into the Emperor's Hands, and to keep it so, that they should be no more in danger of losing it; which they would be exposed to, in undertaking too much: That that very thing would keep all the Neighbourhood in its Duty, without any need of hazarding any thing else. They added some other Discourses of the same nature, which aimed all to stick to the surest. But the first Opinion was esteemed best, and they did not perceive, it was maintained with Reasons more Specious than Solid, but after this Resolution was Embrac'd, there was no more time to change for the better part. In

In the Month of *February*, the *Tartars*, who had consumed all that they could find of Provisions in *Servia*, re-passed the *Danube*, and went to look for some in *Walaquia*. The Imperialists quartered there, but not finding themselves Capable to stop their Inroads, retired into the *Transilvanians* Territories, and gave an opportunity to the *Walaquians* to Reproach them; that it happened nothing otherwise than what they had forewarned, and that they had refused them what they had promised them. Some thought the Hospodar kept a Correspondence with the *Tartars*, and that he had drawn them to drive away the Imperialists. However it were, by this it Manifestly appeared, that they were grasping at more than they could keep; and they were not displeased to Mortifie the *Walaquians*. The *Tartarians* retired soon after, and the Imperialists, who feared least the *Turks* should attack *Nissa*, or *Widdin*, called into *Servia* the Troops they had in *Transilvania*, to secure those Places.

Canisa, after having suffered a blockade almost without Intermission since the taking of *Buda*, surrendered it self at last to the Emperor, for want of Victuals, as soon as they lost all the hopes of receiving any Succours.

The

The Surrender of that Town pleased the the Imperial Court mightily; so, much the more, that they hoped *Themiswear*, and *Waradin* would follow its Example, which nevertheless did not happen, those places having been victualled many times.

A little after the surrender of *Canisa*, *Michael Abaffi* dyed at *Alba-Julia*, after having been a long while Sick, and dying, recommended his Children to the Emperor, as to the Power then most capable to support them, and get his eldest Son to succeed him in the Principality. The *Turks* had made him *Vairode*, as you may have seen in the first Book of this History, and the *Malecontents* of *Hungary* had protected him, as it has been told in the Second, against the intrigues of the Imperial Court. Because he had been in the Party of both, during many Years. But the Emperor having made himself Master of all the *Upper Hungaria*, after the raising of the Siege of *Vienna*, he began to keep fair with him, rather by necessity than by Inclination, for fear least he should act again for the *Turks*, or for the *Malecontents*; and to be revenged for what was past, they filled *Transylvania* with Imperial Garrisons, and the *Transilvanians* were not much better used than the *Hungarians*.

Charles

Charles the fourth Duke of *Lorraine* dyed also, in the beginning of that Campaigne, and the Imperial Court was deprived of a most able and zealous General for the House of *Austria*, whose Interests his Relations were bound to. The Duke of *Bavaria* was named to command in his room upon the *Rhine*, while Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* was coming to take the Command of the Army in *Hungary*. 'Tis reported for certain that this last should excuse himself, because although he had met with such good Success in the last Campaigne, his Army wanted many necessary things; so that it had been impossible to do any thing, if the *Turks* had used a better Conduct than they did. The Imperial Army conquered a good part of *Servia*, and often routed the *Turks*; but this was not effected without exposing themselves to great Hazards, and by a timely laying hold of those Opportunitie; which the Slowness and Consternation of the *Turks* have long ago furnished them with. If it happened that the *Turks* should take better Measures, and act with more Vigour, there was cause to fear, least the Imperial Arms should not be so dreadful as before: It seemed indeed the Grand Vizier was a preparing him-

himself to do better in this Campagne, than his Predecessors had done for some Years past: he was a gathering his Troops at *Nicopoli* in *Servia*, whither he had given a Rendezvous to a grand number of *Saiques*.

While they were expecting the opening of the next Campagne, every Party named a *Vaivode* of *Transilvania*. The Emperour declared himself for the eldest Son of the deceased *Abaffi*; and the Grand Seignior for *Teckely*: for although that Principality was Elective, the States have used to choose ordinarily him they think to be the strongest, or the best supported, to provide in the same time for the Security of the Country, and keep to themselves a Shadow of Liberty, which they shall enjoy in Reality, when they be able to do it with Security. *Abaffi* had a strong Party in the Country, and got himself to be chosen according to the usual Formalities, in spite of the *Manifesto* *Teckely* had sent thither, by which he declar'd he had been made *Vaivode* by the Grand Seignior, under whose Protection *Transilvania* was.

He forbid the *Transilvanians* also to acknowledge the Emperour of *Germany's* Orders, or his Commanders, neither should they furnish them with any thing
what-

whatsoever ; ordering them to keep their Provisions for the *Turks* and *Tartars* Armies, which were going to enter their own Country, to deliver them from the *Germans* Yoak.

A little while after, during the time the *Serasquier* besieged *Widden*, and the *Vizier Nissa*, *Teckely* appeared upon the Fronteers of *Transilvania*. The General *Heusler*, who commanded four thousand Men of the Imperial Troops, had made himself Master of the Passages, with some of the Country Millitia. *Teckely* who was coming from *Walaquia* with an Army of fifteen or sixteen thousand Men, composed of *Hungarians*, *Turks*, and *Tartars*, besides some *Transilvanians* and *Walaquians*, caused his *Transilvanians* to go across some Hills, whither the Horse could not pass: When he thought they were come to the place, whereby they should attack the Enemy in the Reer, he assaulted them in the Front with the main of his Army, the twenty second of *August*. The *Transilvanian* Militia, that were not concerned in the defending of the *Germans*, run presently away ; and the Imperialists encompassed about, were almost all cut off ; General *Heusler* himself fell Prisoner into *Teckely's* hand, who made him Prisoner of War, and used him very civilly. C c c c That

That Victory of *Teckely*, which he acquainted the Grand Vizier with, and which they took care to publish everywhere, engaged Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* to pass the *Danube* at *Semandria*, to protect *Abassi* and the other *Transilvanians* of the Imperial Party against *Teckely*, who was come before *Cronstadt*, without being able to storm that place for want of Cannon. In the mean while *Nissa*, where Count *Guido* of *Staremburgh* commanded, was surrendered with himself the eighth of *September*, making an honourable Capitulation; and whereof the chiefest Articles were, That the Garrison should be conducted safely to *Belgrade*; which was not exactly well observed. The Garrison of *Widden* surrendered itself too the twenty ninth of the same Month, and was conveyed more safely as far as *Orsowa*. The Grand Vizier, having had notice the Prince of *Baden* had passed the *Danube*, to defend *Transilvania*, went from *Nissa* streightway to *Belgrade*, the Breaches whereof he knew to be unprepared still.

In the same time *Teckely* did forget nothing to engage the *Transilvanians* to acknowledge him for *Viaovode*, promising all sort of Advantage to them, who would declare themselves for him; and threat.

threatning to use as Rebels those who would stand against him. Some Counties of *Transilvania* acknowledged him, and sent him Envoys; but the most part of the *Transilvanians* took the Party of *Abassi*, and desired the Succours from the Emperour. The Marquess *Doria*, who had been made a Prisoner by the *Tartars*. and redeemed by *Teckely*, went to *Vienna* upon the General *Heusler's* word, to get some Money for his Ransom: He carried a Letter to the Princess *Ragotski* from her Husband, to whom he brought soon after an Answer, wherein she expressed to have a great mind to be exchanged for General *Heusler* a Prisoner.

The Grand Vizier marching towards *Belgrade*, attacked so suddenly the Palank of *Semandria*, that the Garrison, which had order to quit it, and ruine the place, had not the time to do it: Having taken the Resolution to defend itself, and not having taken well its Measures, it was forced the fourth day, and put to the Sword. The *Turks* found in it some Pieces of Cannon, and a few Ammunitions, because they had carried into *Transilvania*, and elsewhere, what they had before in it. The very second of *Octob.* he laid the Siege to *Belgrade*, which

he assaulted very briskly; and which the General *Aspremont*, who had thrown himself into it, defended as well as he could. The Duke of *Croy* entred into it a little while after with seven or eight hundred Men. But because the old Breaches were but pallisadoed, and the place ill furnished with Pioneers, and Tools to work the Ground; there was no likelihood to hold out long, although they had enough of other necessary Provisions. And yet one would never have thought the *Turks* had been able to make themselves Masters of it, after six days siege; but an Accident that happened, was the cause that that place fell the eighth of *October* into their hands, a Bomb having fallen upon a Tower where the Magazine of the Powder was, which should have been in Cellars, overthrew not only that Tower with horrible Noise and Damage, but destroyed many neighbouring Houses, and set some others on fire. The *Turks* laying hold on the Disorder which that occasioned, they assaulted the Palisadoes with such a Fury, that they took the place, without having made yet in it any Breach, and put to the Sword all that they met; and forced the Commander to run away over the *Danube*, upon some Saïques, with seven

seven or eight Hundred Men. They retired to *Esseck*, to make their endeavours to keep that Post, which they had not Fortified yet; by reason they thought the *Turk* would never come so far. Therefore it wanted but a little, butt they had lost it some while after. The Vizier having caused some of his Troops to pass the *Save*, sent them that way, to attack that Place, which they expected to carry easily. But having not done it with the Vigor that was required, they had Advice, that a great many Imperial Forces were a coming to Succour it; and they say, they thought them already come, hearing the sound of the Trumpets and Kettle-drums, which by way of Amusement had been sent out of that place the Night before, with an order to return with a great Noise through the *Morass* Way. Upon that false Suspicion they went away the 6th of *November* with so great a Precipitation, that they left their Cannon, and one part of their Bagage, to reach the sooner to *Belgrade*, whither they speeded away.

There was a report then that they had offered to make Peace with *Teckely*, and that they were willing to know from him, what it was he expected from the

Emperor. Some Articles too, have been published, wherein he asks not only the Principality of *Transilvania*, but also the restoring of all his States, and the Restauration of the Priviledges of *Hungary*, many places in that Kingdome, to be made a Prince of the Empire, and other things, that seems to be so unlikely, that we will say no more of it. The Prince of *Baden* having received all the succours he expected, advanced with an Army stronger than that of *Teckely*, both for the Number and Quality of the Troops, to offer him Battle; but *Teckely* knew how to avoid it, and chose rather to Retire upon the frontiers of *Moleavia*, than to hazard any thing. If the Vizier had had any great skill in Warlike Affairs, he should have presently after the taking of *Belgrade*, followed the Prince of *Baden*, or marched in order to joyn with *Teckely*, and render himself Master with him of *Transilvania*. But the *Turks* can, no more than some other Nations, make so good use of their advantages, as to boast themselves of their Victories. All that they did, was to take *Lippa*, and to throw some Provisions and Troops in *Giula*, *Themiswear*, and *Waradin*. Those Garrisons being increased made several inroads

roads in many places of the *Upper Hungary*, and into *Transilvania* also, without the Prince of *Baden's* Power to hinder it, who had already divided his Troops, wearied by the long Marches they had undergone, to put them into Winter Quarters, to hinder it.

All the remedy they found against it, was to gather as many Troops as they could, and to follow the *Turks* in their retreat; which they did happily enough, seeing they killed many of those who were the slowest, and that they delivered a considerable number of Prisoners.

During the time the *Turks* were entering into *Transilvania*, on the side of *Hungary*, *Teckely* entered into it too through *Walaquia*. They sent to meet him the Prince of *Auguste of Hanover*, Serjeant General of Battle at the Head of a Thousand Horses. That Prince having attacked Fifteen Hundred Men, who were intrenched in a passage Rashly, was wholly defeated, and himself killed upon the Spot. And yet *Teckely* made no use of that Defeat, by reason of the hardness of the Season, which hindered him from engaging himself further into *Transilvania*, having heard besides the *Turks* were retired. He re-

turned into *Walaquia*, and the Prince of *Baden* took his way towards *Vienna*.

The Young *Abassi* and his Friends, supported by the Imperial Troops, began then to search out those that had declared themselves for *Teckely*. They used them no less roughly than they had done the Rebels in *Hungary*, as if the Emperor had had more right to raise *Abassi* to the dignity of *Vaivodæ*, than the Grand Seigneur had to invest *Teckely* with it. But it is no new thing, that the party which has the better, has the Justice and Reason on his side. The States of *Transilvania* followed the choyce of *Vienna*, and gave their consent, that *Abassi* should be their Prince, under the Emperor's protection. Not being come yet to age fit to govern by himself: they named a Chancellor, and a Council, composed of *Transilvanians*, who took upon themselves the charge of the Affairs. They promised also to the Emperor's Commissioners, to give their Master two Hundred Thousand Livers *per annum* in Silver, and so much in Corn, while the War should last, a Tribute much larger than that the *Vaivodæ* of *Transilvania* had used to pay before to the Port.

The *Turks* encouraged, by the advantages of the last Campaign, made incursions during the Winter, and took several places, round about those they had in *Hungary*. The Imperialists on their side plundered upon the *Turks*, and till the Campaign was opened, many actions happened, whereby both Parties had by turn, the advantage and disadvantage over the other: *Teckely* kept in play the Troops of *Transylvania*, during the Winter and the Spring; and the Report that the Grand Seignor was to give him Twenty Thousand Men, to enter into that Principality, caused General *Veterany* to ask the Emperor for some new Troops, his being extreamly fatigued. The *Turks*, on their side, making great preparations, the Emperor gave order to Fortify *Essck*, after the Strongest and the most Expeditious way they could to withstand the Infidels the better. He committed the defence of *Germany* to several Princes, and Towns, which engaged themselves to keep an Army upon the *Rhine*. In the mean while, some new troubles, which arose at *Constantinople*, hindered the *Turks* from making the necessary preparations, and stopped their design. Count *Teckely*, instead of having an Army sufficient to render

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himself

himself Master of *Transilvania*, or at least to keep his ground against the Imperialists, was reduced to the necessity of making some Excursions towards *Themiswear* with his *Malecontents*, which were not many in Number.

In the month of *July*, the Imperial Army, being above 40000 Strong, and commanded by Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, Marched along the *Danube* as far as *Peter-Waradin*, because it was reported that the *Turks*, who were made to Amount to near 60000 Men, were upon the design of passing the *Save*, and going to Besiege *Esseck*. In effect, a few days after the Christian Army arrived at *Peter-Waradin*, the *Turks*, commanded by the Grand Vizier, assisted by the counsels of Count *Teckely*, passed the *Save*, and came to encamp near *Semlyn*, upon the Banks of the *Danube*. The 10th of *August* the Imperial Army being advanced that way, saw the Infidels in Order of Battel upon hills, which they would not descend. The Imperials encamped as near them as possibly they could, in Expectation that the *Turks* would not refuse them Battel, if they continued to offer it them: Notwithstanding these last being resolved to hazard

nothing, and being perfectly well intrenched, the Prince of *Baden* purposed to retire, with a Design to make them abandon their Trenches, and to draw nearer the place, from whence his provisions were sent him, which could not be conveyed low enough by the *Danube*, upon the account of the Turkish Saicks, which covered the River. The *Turks*, who thought that fear made the Christians withdraw, upon the 16th of the Month attacked the Rear of the Christian Army, by some Horse, to incommode it in its March, nevertheless without engaging too far. For some Days following the *Turks* continued to do the same, and by amusing after that manner the Christian Army, they passed upon its Right, and went to post themselves the 18th of *August* upon the Hills near the *Danube*, between *Peter-Waradin*, and the Christians, with a design to cut off their Provisions. They had not ill begun, and the Regiment of Dragoons of *Buquoi*, which convey'd 200 Chariots of Provisions, was entirely cut in peices as well as some other Troops, which came from *Esseck*, and knew not that the Christian Army was further distant from them, than the *Turks*.

This Action of the Vizier's was undoubtedly,

doubtedly one of the wisest, that had been performed in this War, for a long time ; and if he had often happened that the *Turks* had used such conduct, the Imperialists had been put to their utmost shifts to oppose them. The Prince of *Baden*, and the other Generals perceiving then what a trick the Vizier had play'd them, and seeing themselves absolutely destitute of Provisions, because the Turkish *Saicks* obstructed their coming by the *Danube*, and the Army of the *Turks* prevented them by Land, they resolved to hazard all to break through the Turkish Camp, since they must of necessity starve, if they stay'd any longer. If so be they had been defeated, one might have depended upon seeing the Affairs of the *Ottoman* Empire restored in a little time, and perhaps all *Hungary* fallen into their Hands ; because the Emperor being in want of Money, and believing himself secure by his Victories, had neglected to Fortify what he had taken from the *Turks*, except *Esseck*, and some advanced places. On the other side, by routing the Enemy's Army, the advantage was but small, unless they could defeat it easily, and without loss, which they could not expect to do. In
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the mean time, as there was no other way to save the Imperial Army, than by exposing it to these Risks, it marched the next Day, being the 19 of *August*, towards the Trenches of the *Turks*, which were found to be much better, than had been Imagined. About three in the Afternoon, the Right Wing attacked those, who regarded the Camp of the Imperialists, and the Left Wing was to make a greater compass, in order to set upon that place, which lookt towards the *Rhine*. The Right Wing was received by the *Janizaries* with so much resolution, that they repulsed it a great way from its Lines, and with much loss. But the Left Wing having found the soil more commodious, broke through the Lines of the *Turks*, whilst their Horse, who were gone out to oppose its March, Skirmished against some Squadrons of the Christian Army. *Teckely* who was at the Head of the Horse, seeing the Camp forced on one side, and disorder in the Troops, prepared himself to retire. The Right Wing of the Christian Army, having followed the left, and abandoned its attack, where it found too much resistance, gave opportunity to the *Janizaries*, and what remained of Horse in the Camp, to get off on this side:

side : The approaching Night, (this Action having lasted near three Hours, the weariness of the Imperialists, their losses, and their desire of Plunder,) gave the *Turks* an occasion to retire, altho' the Grand Vizier had been killed.

The Imperialists, as it is said, left in this Fight above 6000 Men upon the place, and had double as many wounded, of which several died in the end. A great number of Officers remain'd there, and the Army instead of pursuing the *Turks*, took the road of *Peter-Waradin*; as the *Turks* retired towards *Belgrade*, after having lost 18000 Men of their side. This victory of the Imperialists, being none of those which they desired to obtain often, put them out of a condition to undertake any thing, on this side of the *Danube*; and they thought only upon reposing themselves, and re-enforcing their Army by detachments out of the neighbouring Garrisons, for fear the *Turks* should make any attempt.

The 28th of *August* a party of *Tartars* came to take away some Cattel, and some Horses from the Imperial Army, and altho' orders had been given for a speedy pursuance of them, they could overtake but some few, who were made Prisoners. It was known to them, that the

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the Turkish Army was encamped near *Belgrade*, and that those *Bassa's*, who had saved themselves, kept it in good order, notwithstanding the Vizier, and the Aga of the *Janizaries* had been killed in the Battel of *Salankemen*, and the Troops extreamly fatigued.

The Christian Army having remained at *Peter-Waradin*, till such time as it was in a condition not to be taken of a sudden, left a Garrison in it, and divided it self in two Bodys, whereof one commanded by the Duke of *Croy* took the way of *Esseck*; and the other, which was conducted by the Prince of *Baden*, passed the *Danube*, in the beginning of *September*, and marched towards *Zolnock*, along the River *Tey*s. During this March, *Lippa* was retaken by General *Veterani*, who was ordered to fortify it. From *Zolnock* the Army marched towards *Great-Waradin*, which the Prince of *Baden* view'd the 10th of *October*. After which the place was regularly besieged, and bombarded, to try if it might be won by that means: The *Turks* defended themselves with much Resolution; after having disputed the Ground with the Imperialists as well as they could, they retired the twenty third into an Intrenchment pallizado'd, which

which they had made round the Cittadel. The Imperialists continu'd to push them even into the Cittadel, where they made a pretty considerable Breach, but the Ditch being full of Water, without any possibility of draining it, it was necessary at length to resolve upon turning the Siege into a Blockade, upon the seventh of *November*. Thus the victorious Army was obliged to abandon an Enterprize, which it had undertaken, as it seems, only to let the *Turks* see, that the Victory had not been so bloody as they imagined, since it durst afterwards besiege one of their strongest Places: if so be they did not succeed to their Wishes, at least the *Turks* might see by it, that the Imperialists did not want Courage. The death of the Grand Vizier *Caperli*, who was succeeded by *Hali Bassa*, prevented them from shewing the Imperialists in their turn, that the loss of a Battel had not exhausted their Forces. They were also worsted in *Sclavonia*, where they abandoned *Gradiska*, and let several small places be taken by the Duke of *Croy*, who commanded that body of the Army which acted on this side. Besides, the blockade of *Waradin* was not unuseful, since by that means the Place was reduced to Capitulate upon

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on the 3d of *June*, in the following year 1692, after a Months Seige, as shall be more at large recited in the continuation of this History, when there shall arrive sufficient matter to make an Addition.

The Prince of *Baden* put his Troops in Winter-quarters, after having left a competent number to continue the blockade of *Waradin*, which was conducted by the Prince of *Aversperg*. If the rigour of the season had permitted them to press the Attacks, it was impossible for the Bassa of this City to hold out long; since several Persons, who found means to get out, reported that the Garrison, which had consisted of above 3000 Men, at the beginning of the Siege, was reduced to less than half; that most part of the Provisions were either burnt, or consumed; and that the Garrison, was obliged to live in Caves covered with Earth and Ruins, and remained there with the utmost inconvenience.

During the Siege of *Waradin*, a Turk, who passed out of this place through the Camp of the Imperialists, without being known, reported at *Belgrade*, whither he went, That he had heard a *Radzian* say, That the Counts *Teckely* and *Petrozzi* had wrote to Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, That had it not been for them,
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the Serasquier had gone to relieve *Waradin*, and that the Emperour owed to them this Obligation; That if he would Negotiate with them for their Composition, General *Heusler* could instruct him of their pretensions. Notwithstanding this information was false, the *Turks* and *Tartars* fell upon them, as upon Traytors, and the Serasquier had much ado to secure them from the Fury of the Souldiers, who intirely plundered their Baggages. It was easie for the Counts to shew the falsehood of this Accusation, since the Serasquier knew, that he had been of opinion himself to attempt the Relief of *Waradin*. They had also a mind to render *Tectely* suspected, because he had released General *Heusler*, upon condition that his Wife should be restored him; but that having been done by the consent of the deceas'd Vizier, and the chief Officers of the *Turks*, the Serasquier made no scruple in that respect. In the mean time the noise of the apprehension of the Count, being dispersed, was a subject of much joy to the Imperialists, who believed him lost, and much affliction to the *Hungarians* that followed him, who were at *Wipalanka*, upon the *Danube*, which they passed immediately, for fear of being cut in pieces

by

by the Infidels. But the two Counts, being freed, soon went to seek them, and brought them back into *Servia*, where they took their Quarters about *Possarowitz*. Thus *Teckely* escaped once more the brutallity of the *Turkish* Troops, amongst which he will hardly ever remain in perfect safety. He has had this good Fortune, in his Disgraces, to live to the year 1692 amongst these barbarous People, respected of the Generals, and beloved of the Port, whilst it has ruined a very great number of its best Officers, under pretence of their ill Conduct, by reason of the losses which it had received by the War. Happy, if the same reason doth not cause his destruction one day; or if he can see a Peace concluded between the two Empires, and live in some corner of the World, without fearing the Resentments of the House of *Austria*! We will end here, till process of time gives us more Information.

The Year 1692 was Spent without any Action between the two Armies, they being both so weak, that neither of them durst attempt to force the other, tho' they lay the most part of the Summer near each other, on the Danube in *Sclavonia*.

The End of the Fourth and Last Book.

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